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THE MOSTYN FAMILY AND ESTATE, 1200-1642

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Wales

by

Antony David Carr,

September, 1975.



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**CONTAINS
PULLOUTS**

This is a study of the Mostyn family and estate down to 1642. The Mostyns were the result of a series of marriages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which brought together the 'Five Courts' of Pengwern, Trecastell, Mostyn, Gloddaith and Tregarnedd; these lines met in Richard ap Hywel (d.1540) whose son Thomas first adopted the surname from his principal seat. The first part of the thesis deals with the history of the component families in the middle ages, while the second part covers the history of the Mostyn family from 1540 to 1642; it is followed by discussions of the estate and its management, of office, politics and public life, of litigation, of education and marriage and of the family as bardic patrons.

The Mostyns are of particular interest for several reasons. They were lucky; in every generation from before 1200 to 1831 they managed to produce a male heir and were therefore spared the rapid decline which failure brought to Gwydir for example. This also explains why they have retained so much of the original estate. They were never too ambitious; Richard ap Hywel's reputed refusal of Henry Tudor's invitation after Bosworth seems to symbolise their attitude. They played an active and important part in local government but they showed little enthusiasm for membership of parliament and they never sought to dominate their county. Their litigation did not reflect local rivalries; they seem, in fact, to have had few enemies. They gradually built up their estate and their fortunes, helped by the fact that they were among the first to exploit the coal measures on their lands on a commercial scale. And their role as patrons is highlighted by the part they played in connection with the two Caerwys eisteddfodau in 1523 and 1567.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abbreviations	
Acknowledgements	
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Pengwern and Trecastell	
(a). Pengwern	5
(b). Trecastell	55
Chapter Two: Mostyn	59
Chapter Three: Gloddaith and Tregarnedd	
(a). Gloddaith	110
(b). Tregarnedd	141
Chapter Four: Thomas and William Mostyn, 1540-1576	148
Chapter Five: Sir Thomas and Sir Roger, 1576-1642	175
Chapter Six: The Mostyn Estate	216
Chapter Seven: Office, Politics and Public Life	249
Chapter Eight: Litigation	274
Chapter Nine: Education and Marriage	
(a). Education	308
(b). Marriage	318
Chapter Ten: The Mostyns as Patrons	332
Conclusion	361
Appendices	
A. Genealogical Tables	
1. Pengwern	369
2. Trecastell	370
3. Mostyn	371
4. Gloddaith	374
5. Tregarnedd	375
6. Mostyn of Mostyn	376
7. Mostyn of Talacre	378
B. The Manor of Mostyn	379
C. A Note on the Mostyn Archives	386
D. Poetry addressed to the Mostyn family	389
E. Select Documents	
1. Marriage settlement of Thomas ap Richard ap ... Hywel and Jane Griffith, 1517	395
2. Will of Thomas Mostyn, 25 August, 1558	398
3. Will of William Mostyn, 20 February, 1566/7 ...	401
4. Will of Margaret Mostyn, 5 October, 1592	405
5. Will of Sir Thomas Mostyn, 10 December, 1617 ..	407
6. Will of Sir Roger Mostyn, 3 November, 1640	411
7. Valuation of Sir Roger Mostyn's estate, <u>c</u> 1619.	418
8. Letter from Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir John Wynn, 5 January, 1623/4	422
9. Letter from Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir James Whitelock, 17 January, 1619/20	424
10. Bulstrode Whitelock's account of his visit to Mostyn, 1627-8	426

F. Maps 428

- 1. The Five Courts
- 2. Pengwern lands in the fourteenth century
- 3. Lands acquired by Tudur ap Ithel Fychan
- 4. Gloddaith and Tregarnedd lands in the fourteenth century
- 5.(a). The Mostyn estate in 1618: Flintshire, Denbighshire and Cheshire
- 5.(b). The Mostyn estate in 1618: Anglesey and Caernarvonshire
- 6. Mostyn marriages, 1517-1642

Bibliography 429

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- Agrarian History
A.P.C.
Arch. Camb.
Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn
B.P.R.
Bowen, Statutes
B.M.
Browne Willis, St. Asaph
- Brut y Tywysogyon
- B.B.C.S.
Bywgraffiadur
Bywgraffiadur II
Cal. Anc. Corr.
- Calendar of Augmentations Records
- Cal. Carew MSS.
- Cal. Chanc. R. Var.
Cal. Chart. R.
C.C.R.
C.F.R.
Cal. I.P.M.
C.P.R.
Cal. S.P. Dom.
Cal. S.P.I.
C.W.P.
- C.R.R., I-III
- Christie's Catalogue
- Clwyd R.O.
D.N.B.
Dwnn
- Extent of Chirkland
- Flenley, Register
- Flints. Hist. Soc.
F.M.A., 1301-1328
F.M.A., 1328-1353
- G.P.C.
Griffith, Pedigress
- The Agrarian History of England and Wales
Acts of the Privy Council
Archaeologia Cambrensis
J. C. Norrice, ed., Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn
Register of Edward the Black Prince
Ivor Bowen, ed., The Statutes of Wales
British Museum
Browne Willis, A Survey of the Cathedral
Church of St. Asaph
Thomas Jones, ed., Brut y Tywysogyon or the
Chronicle of the Princes (Peniarth MS. 20
version)
Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig hyd 1940
Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig, 1941-1950
J. G. Edwards, ed., Calendar of Ancient
Correspondence concerning Wales
E. A. Lewis & J. Conway Davies, eds.,
Records of the Court of Augmentations
relating to Wales and Monmouthshire
Calendar of Carew Papers in the Lambeth
Library
Calendar of Chancery Rolls Various
Calendar of the Charter Rolls
Calendar of the Glose Rolls
Calendar of the Fine Rolls
Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
Calendar of the Patent Rolls
Calendar of State Papers Domestic
Calendar of State Papers Ireland
Calendar of the Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers,
1515-1690
Calendar of the Chester Recognisance Rolls,
(printed in Reports of the Deputy Keeper
of the Public Records, XXXVI, XXXVII,
XXXIX)
The Mostyn Hall Library: Printed Books and
Manuscripts (catalogue of auction, 9-10,
16-17, 23-4 October, 1974)
Clwyd Record Office
Dictionary of National Biography
Lewis Dwnn, Heraldic Visitations of Wales and
part of the Marches between 1586 and 1613
(ed., S. R. Meyrick)
G. P. Jones, ed., The Extent of Chirkland,
1391-1393
R. Flenley, ed., A Calendar of the Register
of the Queen's Majesty's Council in the
Dominion and Principality of Wales and the
Marches of the same, 1569-1591
Flintshire Historical Society
Arthur Jones, ed., Flintshire Ministers'
Accounts, 1301-1328
D. L. Evans, ed., Flintshire Ministers'
Accounts, 1328-1353
Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru
J. E. Griffith, Pedigrees of Anglesey and
Caernarvonshire Families

Gwaith Guto'r Glyn

Gwaith Tudur Aled
Handlist of Flintshire
County Records

H.M.C.
Hist. Great Sessions

Iolo Goch ac Eraill

i.p.m.
Jnl. Flints. Hist. Soc.
Jnl. Hist. Soc. Church in Wales

Le Neve, Fasti

L. & P.

Littere Wallie

Lloyd, Hist. Wales

'Lordships of Chirk and Oswestry'

Mont. Coll.
Mostyn & Glenn

Myvyrian Archaiology

N.L.W.
Ormerod, Hist. Cheshire

O.E.D.
Pennant, Tours
Powys Fadog

Procs. Privy Council

P.R.O.
Reg. Peckham

Return of M.Ps.

Rot. Parl.
R.C.A.M.
Survey of Denbigh

Taxatio Nich. IV

'The Wynn family and estate'

Trans. A.A.S.

Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc.

Ifor Williams & J. Ll. Williams, eds.,
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T. Gwynn Jones, ed., Gwaith Tudur Aled
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Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill
inquisition post mortem

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Journal of the Historical Society of the
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1300-1541

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J. G. Edwards, ed., Littere Wallie preserved
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O. Jones, W. Owen & E. Williams, eds.,
The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales

National Library of Wales

G. Ormerod, The History of the County
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Oxford English Dictionary

T. Pennant, Tours in Wales

J. Y. W. Lloyd, Powys Fadog: history of the
princes, lords marcher and ancient nobility
of Powys Fadog

N. H. Nicolas, ed., Proceedings and Ordinances
of the Privy Council

Public Record Office

C. T. Martin, ed., Registrum Epistolarum
Fratri Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi
Cantuarensis

Return of the name of every member of the
lower house of the Parliaments

Rotuli Parliamentorum

Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments

P. Vinogradoff & F. W. Morgan, eds.,
Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334

Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae
auctoritate Papae Nicolai IV

J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Wynn family and estate
of Gwydir: their origins, growth and
development up to 1674'

Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian
Society and Field Club

Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical
Society

Trans. Cymm.

Trans. Denbs. Hist. Soc.

U.C.N.W.

Wales through the Ages

Waters, Edwardian Settlement

W.H.R.

Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd

Transactions of the Honourable Society of
Cymmrodorion

Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical
Society

University College of North Wales

A. J. Roderick, ed., Wales through the Ages

W. H. Waters, The Edwardian Settlement of
North Wales in its Administrative and
Legal Aspects, 1284-1343

Welsh History Review

Peter Roberts, Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd: the
chronicle written by the famous clarke
Peter Roberts, notary public, for the
years 1607-1646 (ed., D. R. Thomas)

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of one of the most prominent landowning families in North Wales. It was originally undertaken as a result of the deposit by the late Lord Mostyn of the greater part of the family papers in the Library of the University College of North Wales in 1962. This mass of documents contains material for a number of specialised studies but the purpose of this work is to examine the origins of the Mostyn family and estate and to trace their development down to the death of the first Sir Roger Mostyn in 1642. No apology is offered for ending in that year. In the first place there is so much source material as to make it unmanageable over a longer period. Secondly, the years around 1640 are generally taken to mark the end of a distinct period and the death of Sir Roger on the eve of the outbreak of the Civil War is therefore providential. It is also significant that he was succeeded, not by his eldest son who predeceased him, but by his grandson; this gap of a generation could be said to mark the dawn of a new era in the family's history. And last, but by no means least, for someone whose training and interests are essentially those of the medievalist the period after 1642 presents problems for whose solution he may not feel equipped.

The point of the study lies in the fact that the Mostyns were one of the most interesting as well as the most eminent Welsh families. They were the result of the amalgamation of five distinct lines through a series of marriages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; these were Pengwern in Nanheudwy in the lordship of Chirkland, Mostyn in Tegeingl, Gloddaith in the commote of Creuddyn in Caernarvonshire and Trecastell and Tregarnedd in Anglesey, known by poets and genealogists as the Five Courts. The house of Pengwern claimed descent from Tudur^{Trefor} and may have begun to rise in the service of the lords of Powys Fadog in the thirteenth century. Its members were among the leading free tenants in the lordship of Chirkland in the following century and held various offices there from time to time. Pengwern absorbed Trecastell in the late fourteenth century when Ieuan ab Adda ab Iorwerth Ddu married Angharad, the daughter and co-heiress of Ednyfed ap Tudur ap Goronwy.

The family of Mostyn was descended from Edwin of Tegeingl but their rise began with Ithel Fychan of Halkyn, who flourished around 1300, and his six sons. These sons played an important and interesting part in the affairs of Flintshire in the mid-fourteenth century and at the same time one of them, Tudur ap Ithel Fychan, was building up an estate in and around Whitford, partly by direct purchase and partly by extensive use of the Welsh legal device of prid. Tudur's grand-daughter Angharad married Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan ap Adda of Pengwern some time in the early fifteenth century and this marriage brought Pengwern, Mostyn and Trecastell together. The real founder of the Gloddaith fortunes was Madog Gloddaith ap Madog Fychan, a member of the Welsh official class so prominent in the affairs of the principality of North Wales in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. He married Morfudd, one of the daughters of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, and thus added Tregarnedd to the family possessions. At some time in the fifteenth century Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith, married Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan of Pengwern and Mostyn. The lines of both Trecastell and Tregarnedd were members of the complex of families known as 'Wyrion Eden', being descendants of Ednyfed Fychan. Thus, by 1500, the lines of the Five Courts were united in the person of Richard ap Hywel, the son of Hywel and Margaret, who died in 1540 and whose principal seat was at Mostyn. He was followed by his son Thomas who was the first to adopt the family surname and from then until 1642 son followed father in regular succession.

A study of the medieval families must obviously shed some light on the history of North Wales during this period, especially since Pengwern was in the march, Mostyn in Flintshire and Gloddaith and the two Wyrion Eden houses in the principality. They all seem to have accepted the new order in 1282 but they were all involved in the Glyn Dŵr revolt; the Mostyn and Pengwern lines were related to Owain and the former played an important part in the revolt in Flintshire. The actions of the Mostyn branch between the conquest and the revolt are particularly well documented because of the wealth of Flintshire material in the records of the Palatinate of Chester, while the

numerous medieval deeds among the family papers at Bangor illustrate the accumulation of a landed estate in the fourteenth century; for the fifteenth century, however, between the Glyn Dŵr revolt and the emergence of Richard ap Hywel, the evidence is so sparse as to be almost non-existent. Nor is there much literary evidence for this period; the bulk of the poetry addressed to the family comes from the time of Richard ap Hywel's son Thomas onwards. From this period the story of the Mostyns is in many respects similar to the story of many of the other families of North Wales but there were differences which are examined in the following pages and which, it may be argued, make them of unique interest. On the one hand there was the purchase of land, intermarriage with other gentry houses, service in parliament, in the Council at Ludlow and as sheriffs, deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace; this was the usual pattern. But there were also such things as the key role of the family in the two Caerwys eisteddfodau of 1523 and 1567 and its special relationship with the bardic order, its conservatism and apparent lack of any burning ambition and its continuing prosperity.

The first section of the study deals with the medieval families which came together to form the house of Mostyn. Pengwern, the direct male line, and Trecastell are examined in the first chapter and Mostyn itself in the second; the third chapter outlines the history of Gloddaith and Tregarnedd. The fourth and fifth chapters are concerned with the history of the family between 1540 and 1642, the point of division being the death of William Mostyn in 1576. The final part of the thesis is an examination of various aspects of the family's activities after 1540. The sixth chapter looks at the management of the estate, the seventh at office, politics and public life, the eighth at litigation, the ninth at education and marriage and the last considers the role of the Mostyns as patrons of the bards. Full genealogical tables are provided in the appendices along with maps to illustrate the distribution of the Mostyn lands at various periods and notes on the manor of Mostyn, the Mostyn archives and the poetry composed to different members of the family; a number of unpublished documents are also included. The whole

work therefore sets out to examine the rise of the Mostyns and to look at the roots from which they sprang against the general background of the history of Wales in general and the rise of the gentry in particular. All this means that this is a long thesis; the nature of the subject is such that it cannot be otherwise.

Pum Plas Mostyn

Praffion da gyffion di-gêl - parchuswaed
Mab Rhisiart ap Hywel;
Pum lles eich pum llys uchel
Pum plas mawr; urddas mwy êl.

Aeth pum plas, Tomas, yt yma - yn un,
O uniawnwaed cyfa;
Un llys oedd yn lle sy dda,
Un bioedd Ieuan ab Adda.

Addaf fu'n ddewraf, Nudd oror - Bengwern,
Bongainc Tudur Trefor;
A'r lle daw ywch, dewrllwyd iôr,
Yn llawn actiau, llew Ector.

Ector, ben-rhagor, bu'n rhin - o Fostyn,
Feistr yr holl gyffredin;
A rhoi'n y llys o'r hen llin
Wybren wydr a brain Edwin.

Oddi wrth dir Edwin, ddiwarth daith - mudwch
I lys Madog Cloddaith
Y fan y ceuwch, heb fan caith,
Y maen gwn, mwy nag unwaith.

Iarll unwaith ar holl Wynedd
Ac arfau ywch gorau fodd,
O Drefgastell, nawgwell fudd,
Y mae tair helm o waed rhydd.

Fo rydd farwndir erioed,
I roi aur dalaith yr wyd,
Ar hon Trefgarnedd y rhoed,
A phioedd llin Syr Gruffudd Llwyd.

Gruffudd Hiraethog: Awdl foliant i Thomas Mostyn.

(Text: R. Alun Charles, 'Teulu Mostyn fel noddwyr y beirdd' in Llên Cymru, IX. (1966) p. 82).

CHAPTER ONE

PENGWERN AND TRECATELL

(a). Pengwern

The first and second of the five seats of the Mostyn family were Pengwern in the commote of Nanheudwy in the Dee valley near Llangollen and Treicastell in the Anglesey commote of Dindaethwy;¹ the two lines came together in the second half of the fourteenth century as a result of the marriage of Ieuan ap Adda ap Iorwerth Ddu of Pengwern and Angharad, the daughter and co-heiress of Ednyfed ap Tudur ap Goronwy of Treicastell, one of the great Wyrion Eden clan. Although the chief seat of the family as it eventually evolved was at Mostyn, the direct male line of descent was that of Pengwern because of the marriage of Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan ap Adda of Pengwern and Angharad, the daughter of Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan of Mostyn early in the fifteenth century; in view of this Pengwern will be regarded as the main line for the purpose of this study.

Like so many of the families of north-east Wales the house of Pengwern traced its descent from Tudur Trefor, who was said to have ruled Northern Powys and the area around Oswestry in the tenth century.² Tudur's fame is in the eyes of genealogists rather than of historians and several generations need to be traversed before record evidence confirms the existence of individual descendants. His great-great-grandson Rhys Sais seems to have been a figure of some importance on the Powys-Shropshire border in the eleventh century; he held Whittington, Maelor Gymraeg and parts of Oswestry and adjacent territories and is said to have died in 1073.³ Rhys may well have been responsible for the recovery of some of these lands from the English during the reign of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn.⁴ The pedigrees credit him with three sons and it was

1. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, m. 11a.

2. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 1-3.

3. Ibid, p.7.

4. A. N. Palmer, 'The Welsh settlements east of Offa's Dyke during the eleventh century' in Y Cymmrodor, X (1890), pp. 41-4;
J. E. Lloyd, A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest (3rd. edn. 1939, hereinafter cited as Lloyd, Hist. Wales), II, p. 366.

these sons who, in 1081, killed Gwrgeneu ap Seisyll, king of Powys, perhaps as a consequence of the victory of Gruffydd ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr at Mynydd Carn in that year.⁵ One of these sons, Tudur, was the ancestor of the Pengwern family and it is generally agreed by historians that this was the Welshman called Tudur who was recorded in Domesday Book as holding a Welsh district of earl Roger of Shrewsbury by an annual rent of £4:5s; this district may well have been, as A. N. Palmer suggested, the commote of Nanheudwy which is not otherwise accounted for in the survey made at a time when the Norman penetration of North Wales had reached its peak.⁶ Most of the leading Welsh families of the region were descended from Tudur ap Rhys Sais or from his father, which again suggests that Rhys may have been the leader of the advance into this area.⁷

The Pengwern descent runs through Tudur's son Bleddyn, his grandson Owain and his great-grandson Iorwerth Hen who flourished at the end of the twelfth century.⁸ By this time Nanheudwy was again a part of Powys and when the kingdom was divided up on the death of Madog ap Maredudd in 1160 the northern section was inherited by his son Gruffydd Maelor; he was succeeded by his son Madog, from whom this part of Powys came to be known as Powys Fadog. Madog's seat was at Dinas Brân and it has been suggested that Iorwerth Hen of Pengwern was his seneschal. Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor founded the Cistercian abbey of Valle Crucis, the early charters of which have survived in an inspeximus or confirmation granted to the monks by Edward I in 1295.⁹ In 1234 a dispute between the monks and the free tenants of Llangollen was settled in the abbey's

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5. T. Jones, ed. Brut y Tywysogyon (Peniarth 20 version) (1952), p. 17; see Lloyd, Hist. Wales, II, p. 385, for the background.
 6. Domesday Book, I. p. 253b (Salop); Lloyd, Hist. Wales, II, p. 389, n; Palmer, Op. cit. p. 44.
 7. Palmer, Op. cit. pp. 43-4; in Maelor Saesneg, for example, there were three gwelyau descended from Rhys Sais, which later became the local administrative units (C. R. Williams, The History of Flintshire (1961), I. p. 98) and Rhiwabon, Marchwiell and the adjacent townships in Maelor Gymraeg were held by a group of descendants of Elidir ap Rhys Sais in 1315 (T. P. Ellis, The First Extent of Bromfield and Yale, A.D. 1315 (1924), pp. 126-31).
 8. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 9-12.
 9. C. Chart R. II, pp. 457-9.

favour and among the parties mentioned in the deed of settlement was 'J., seneschal of the lord Madog'.¹⁰ The family historian assumed that the initial stood for Iorwerth, but it is only fair to add that elsewhere in the same deed the seneschal is called 'J. parvus' or, in another tongue, 'J. Fychan'.¹¹ Glenn probably identified 'J' as Iorwerth on the basis of the attestations to another charter two years later; Madog ap Gruffydd died in 1236 and in that same year his son and successor, Gruffydd ap Madog, confirmed his father's grants to the abbey. The witnesses to this charter included 'Iorwerth, my seneschal'.¹² Moving further into the thirteenth century, an exchange of lands between Gruffydd ap Madog and Valle Crucis in 1254 was again witnessed by his seneschal Iorwerth and a confirmation in 1270 by Gruffydd's sons of his grant of Maelor Saesneg to his wife Emma Audley includes Iorwerth Foel ap Iorwerth Fychan among the witnesses to the transaction.¹³

According to the pedigrees Iorwerth Hen had several sons, including Iorwerth Fychan, and he, in turn, was the father of Iorwerth Foel.¹⁴ The pedigrees make no sense whatsoever as far as the wives of the earlier members of the family are concerned; Rhys Sais, for example, who flourished in the mid-eleventh century, is said by Dwnn to have married a great-grand-daughter of the Lord Rhys who died in 1197.¹⁵ It has generally been suggested that these three Iorwerths followed each other as seneschals of Powys Fadog but there is no conclusive evidence to indicate that the seneschals named in the charters were of the house of Pengwern.¹⁶ However, the fact that the family played a prominent part in the affairs of the lordship of Chirkland after the conquest may be an indication of their standing, and Gwynedd was certainly not

10. Ibid, p. 458; Arch. Camb. 1866, p. 415.

11. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 14; C. Chart R., II, p. 458.

12. C. Chart. R., II, pp. 458-9; Arch. Camb. 1866, p. 416.

13. F. Seebohm, The Tribal System in Wales (1st edn. 1895), App. p. 105; Gruffydd died in 1269.

14. See Appendix A for genealogical tables.

15. Dwnn, II. p. 307.

16. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 13-7, seem to take this for granted.

the only part of Wales where an official class developed to serve the needs of rulers faced with the growing sophistication of relations with each other, with the march and with the English crown. Nor were the princes of Gwynedd the only Welsh rulers to be influenced by Norman ideas. It is therefore possible that the office of seneschal of Powys Fadog became hereditary in the family of Pengwern, just as the corresponding office of Gwynedd became the preserve of the family of Ednyfed Fychan.

Unfortunately it is difficult to date any of the three Iorwerths, especially since only the 1270 document gives an identifying epithet. The 'J' of 1234 was taken by Glenn to be Iorwerth Hen; on the other hand the 'parvus' would suggest that, if the identification of the office with Pengwern is correct and if the initial stands for Iorwerth, he was Iorwerth Fychan. If this is so the same Iorwerth was presumably the witnessing seneschal of 1236 and 1254, which is perfectly feasible. By 1270 he had been succeeded by his son and Iorwerth Foel's sons were old enough to be buying land in the last two decades of the thirteenth century. But, in the absence of exact dates, beyond this we cannot go. The pedigrees record Iorwerth Hen's wife as Angharad, daughter of Gruffydd ap Meilir ap Elidir ap Rhys Sais, a distant relative;¹⁷ they had five sons, Iorwerth Fychan, Meilir, Rhys, Gruffydd and Dafydd. Iorwerth Fychan is said to have married particularly well; his wife was Catrin, daughter of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd and sister of the last prince.¹⁸ History knows nothing of Catrin although she appears in most of the pedigrees; Iorwerth is supposed to have been her second husband, the first being Maredudd ap Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor who died in 1256.¹⁹ If Catrin did exist and the marriage take place, the fact that Iorwerth Fychan was an acceptable husband would suggest that he was a man of considerable standing in Powys Fadog, even if he were not the seneschal. Iorwerth Fychan's sons were

17. Dwnn, II, p. 307; Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 14-5.

18. Dwnn, II, p. 308; Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 15, 189-90.

19. Lloyd, Hist. Wales, II, p. 769.

Iorwerth Foel, Cynwrig, Tudur, Rhys and Einion. Iorwerth Foel is the only one whose existence is confirmed by record evidence but an Einion ap Iorwerth Fychan was one of the hostages delivered to Edward I by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1277 and subsequently released.²⁰ There is no record of the part played by Iorwerth in the events of 1277 or 1282. One of Gruffydd ap Madog's sons, Madog, made his peace with Edward I on 12 April, 1277; Maelor Gymraeg had been his share of his father's lands while his brother Llywelyn had Nanheudwy, where Pengwern was situated.²¹ Few, if any, of the other Welsh rulers supported Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1277 and Iorwerth Foel would, one assumes, have followed the lead of his own lord.²² The war of 1282 was a different matter altogether; all the Welsh lords bar two were involved and it soon took on the character of a national rising in which it would be reasonably safe to assume that Iorwerth took part.

After the death of Llywelyn his lands and those of many of his supporters escheated to Edward. In Gwynedd itself the king took over Llywelyn's position; but northern Powys and most of the Four Cantrefs became four new marcher lordships. Cynllaith, Mochmant Is Rhaeadr and Nanheudwy were granted to Roger Mortimer and became the marcher lordship of Chirkland.²³ Iorwerth Foel and his numerous kinsmen were now marcher tenants although in practice the change made little difference; the same rents and renders as had been due to the princes of Powys Fadog continued to be paid. Most Welshmen made their peace with the new ^{ruler} ~~leader~~, whether king or lord, and remained in possession of their lands. There is an undated reference to a grant of land in Gwernosbynt and

20. Cal. Chant. R. Var., p. 169.

21. J. G. Edwards, ed. Littere Wallie (1940), pp. 53-4.

22. A Iorwerth Foel described as 'of Anglesey' petitioned parliament in 1278, complaining that Llywelyn had plundered his lands and burned his houses because he had made his peace with the king and served him in the recent war (J. Conway Davies, ed. The Welsh Assize Roll, 1277-1284 (1940) p. 158).

23. Extent of Chirkland, p. x.

Roger Mortimer, Arglwydd y Waun, yn rhodd tir i Ierworth Foel ap Ier: Fychan, dan dalu ddeg punt sterling o arian bob blwyddyn yn ardreth: y tir sydd o fern Gwern Osbwrn a Phen-y-Clawdd: y tyssllion Jefof Fab Adda, Llywelyn ei fab, Owain fab Gryff. foel, Domino Hwfa ei frawd, Llywelyn fab Cynwric ap Osbwrn, a Madoc fab Cynwric foel; ar wrth y weithred Sel, Roger Mortimer, ar o emgylch y bais arfon, Segilium mortio mari.

This corrupt text is the only reference to this grant and the whereabouts of the original deed is unknown. But, according to Rhys Cain:²⁵

Roger Mortimer yn rhoddi Gafael Iorwerth Farch (yr hon a elwir Gafael Feilfarch ym Mhen-y-Clawdd o fewn Swydd y Waun), yr hwn dir a gawsai Iorwerth Farch am ei wasanaeth da i Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, Arglwydd Nanheudwy, a Madog ei frawd, ac ai gorfeliodd am dorri heddwch y Brenhin.

This, too, was granted to Iorwerth Foel. The 1391-3 extent of the lordship shows that in that year there was in Pen-y-clawdd a holding called Gafael Meilir Farch, half of which was held by Iorwerth ap Ednyfed, Iorwerth Foel's grandson, at an annual rent of one penny and no other renders or services.²⁶ His ancestor (presumably Iorwerth Foel) had received the land in exchange for the site of the town of Chirk and the small park; the deed already mentioned may also have had something to do with this exchange.

Two other record references may also be relevant. On 12 April, 1296, a pardon was granted 'at the instance of John, duke of Brabant, the king's son' to Iorwerth Foel for all the offences he was said to have committed against the king.²⁷ This may have been a consequence of the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn, although there is no definite evidence of Iorwerth's participation.

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24. Mostyn, & Glenn, pp. 18-9: 'Roger Mortimer, lord of Chirk, gives land to Iorwerth Foel ap Iorwerth Fychan on payment of ten pounds sterling of silver each year as rent; which land is in Gwernosbynt and Pen-y-clawdd; the witnesses Ieuf, son of Adda, Llywelyn his son, Owain, son of Gruffydd Foel, Sir Hwfa, his brother, Llywelyn, son of Cynwrig ap Osbwrn, and Madog, son of Cynwrig Foel; and on the deed the seal of Roger Mortimer, and around the coat of arms Sigillum Mortuo Mari.'
25. Powys Fadog, IV, p. 8: 'Roger Mortimer gives Gafael Iorwerth Farch (the one which is called Gafael Feilfarch in Pen-y-clawdd in Chirkland), which land Iorwerth Farch had had for his good services to Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, lord of Nanheudwy, and Madog his brother, and who ~~raised him~~ for breaking the king's peace.'
26. Extent of Chirkland, p. 12. forfeited it
27. C.P.R. 1292-1301, p. 186.

And in 1302 a Iorwerth Foel was one of a large number of Welshmen pardoned of the outlawry pronounced against them for their non-appearance in a plea of trespass brought against them by Roger Mortimer.²⁸ The pardon was granted on condition that they surrender themselves at Clifford gaol in Herefordshire before the following Easter to stand trial. There is nothing to prove that the Iorwerth Foel named in this document was Iorwerth Foel of Pengwern; there could easily have been other Welshmen with the same name living at this time and there is no mention of the abodes of the people listed. They might, moreover, have all come from the Mortimer lordships in the middle march. But a Iorwerth Fychan appears alongside him in the list and he does seem to have had a son of that name; in the Chirkland subsidy roll of 1291-2 Iorwerth Fychan, son of Iorwerth Foel, was among those assessed for the subsidy in Gwernosbynt, although the amount of his contribution is missing.²⁹ In Hendregeginan Iorwerth Foel Ddu was assessed for the same subsidy. It is certainly possible that Chirkland tenants had clashed with their lord; if this were so, it was probably the result of a policy of afforestation and emparking in the lord's interest which clashed with the traditional rights of the tenants.³⁰ The steps taken by the lord threatened their rights of pasture and of hunting. Subsequent events were to show that there was little love lost between the Mortimers and their Welsh tenants and that for the latter the change of 1282 was a change for the worse.

According to Mostyn and Glenn, Iorwerth Foel was still alive in 1313 when he was one of the witnesses to a deed which cannot now be traced.³¹ His wife was Gwladus, daughter of Iorwerth ap Gruffydd ap Heilin of Mochnant, by

28. C.P.R. 1292-1301, p. 567.

29. P.R.O. Lay Subsidy Rolls, E179/242/55 (Chirkland).

30. Ilinos Smith, 'The Arundel charters to the lordship of Chirk in the fourteenth century' in *B.B.C.S.*, XXIII, ii (1969), p. 154. Roger's brother Edmund had run into similar trouble with his tenants in Maelienydd in 1297.

31. Mostyn, & Glenn, p. 21.

whom he had, according to the pedigrees, six sons, Ednyfed Gam, Madog Llwyd, Morgan, Gruffydd, Rhys and Ieuan.³² Record evidence confirms the existence of all these sons, with the exception of Rhys and with the addition of Iorwerth Fychan, Maredudd, Adda, Llywelyn and Hywel;³³ for once the records pay greater tribute to Iorwerth's progenitive powers than do the pedigrees. Surviving deeds show that Iorwerth Foel held extensive lands in Maelor Saesneg and his sons acquired more; ~~in~~ about 1300, for example, Maredudd ~~ap~~ Iorwerth Foel granted lands in Gredington to his brother Madog Llwyd and the witnesses to this transaction included two other brothers, Gruffydd and Morgan.³⁴ Gruffydd's grand-daughter Angharad was the wife of Sir David Hammer and consequently the mother-in-law of Owain Glyn Dŵr, while Madog Llwyd was the ancestor of the family of Wynn of Bryncunallt whose estate was later purchased by the Trevor family.³⁵ Pengwern was inherited by Ednyfed Gam who was a figure of some prominence in Chirkland and who seems to have had a long career. His first appearance was in 1282 when he obtained lands in Gredington and the last reference for which there is a firm date is a grant to him of land in Bronington in Maelor Saesneg in 1341 although he may have lived on for several years.³⁶ Reference has already been made to the existence of something in the march corresponding to the Gwynedd official class, comprising the families of the principal Welsh free tenants. Indeed, no marcher lord could have governed his lordship without the aid and co-operation of these men; in 1244 the officials of the earl of Pembroke had told the royal justiciar in South Wales that it was not easy to rule the Welsh except through one of their own race.³⁷ And in the march, as in the principality, the holding of office could often lead to the improvement of the family fortunes and the ascent of

32. *Ibid.*, the sepulchral monuments of Gwladus and of Gruffydd ~~ap~~ Iorwerth Foel in Hammer church were destroyed by fire in 1889 (n. 4).

33. See, for example, N.L.W. Bettisfield 387 (Maredudd, Madog Llwyd, Gruffydd, Morgan) and U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1627 (i) (Llywelyn) and 1629 (ii) (Adda, Hywel). Ieuan was a juror in 1331 (Powys Fadog IV, p.22); for Iorwerth Fychan see P.R.O. E179/242/55.

34. N.L.W. Bettisfield 387.

35. Bywgraffiadur, p. 315; Powys Fadog, IV, pp. 53-6.

36. N.L.W. Bettisfield 347; N.L.W. Plas Iolyn 193.

37. J. G. Edwards, ed. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales (Cal. Anc. Corr.), (1935), p. 48.

the social scale. It was from the ranks of such families as that of Pengwern that the gentry of a future generation were to be recruited.³⁸

No official records of the lordship of Chirk have survived for the first forty years of its existence but it does appear that Roger Mortimer's hand was heavy and that he was not altogether popular with his tenants.³⁹ The lordship was part of his extensive territories administered by his central governmental machine at Ludlow and he himself must have been an absentee ruler for much of the time.⁴⁰ The centre of the lordship itself was the new castle at Chirk and it was here that dues and renders were received and accounted for and the central courts probably held; here was the seat of the lord's steward or seneschal and of his receiver, the chief financial officer. An extract from an account of 1329-30 shows the link between Chirk and the centre of the Mortimer estates in operation; it also shows Ednyfed Gam playing his part in the administration of the lordship:⁴¹

And for the expenses of the receiver, Ednyfed Gam, llywelyn ap Atha and four grooms and their boys for four days going and returning to carry the said money from Chirk to Wigmore and deliver it to the said Roger the Treasurer together with the expenses of 3 pack horses and 3 grooms, 13s. 4d. ...

This document sheds some light on the complexity and sophistication of baronial government; accounting before Roger the Treasurer was probably an experience akin to that of a sheriff answering at the Exchequer. It has been suggested, on the evidence of this entry, that Ednyfed was at this time the receiver of the lordship but this is unlikely;⁴² a more reasonable reading is probably that he and llywelyn ap Adda accompanied the receiver to Wigmore, since it is doubtful whether the office was within the reach of the family at this time. The prominence of the Mortimers meant that the currents of English and marcher politics affected Chirkland and Edward II's victory over his opponents in 1322 led to the fall of the family, the forfeiture of their estates and the grant of

38. Glyn Roberts, 'Wales and England: antipathy and sympathy, 1282-1485' in Aspects of Welsh History (1969), pp. 307-9.

39. Extent of Chirkland, p. xi.

40. Ibid.

41. Powys Fadog IV, p. 12.

42. Extent of Chirkland, p. xxxii.

the lordship to Edmund Fitzalan, earl of Arundel and lord of Oswestry, who also replaced Mortimer as justice of Wales.⁴³ During the summer of 1322 the castle was captured for the king by the men of North Wales led by Sir Gruffydd Ilwyd and one suspects that the efforts of the Welsh tenants on behalf of their lord were less than whole-hearted.⁴⁴ The situation in the lordship at this time may be reflected in an order made in March, 1322, to the keeper of Maelor Saesneg to deliver the lands, goods and chattels of Ednyfed ap Iorwerth to John de Felton; a similar order was made to the keeper of Chirk castle. This property had been taken into the king's hands because Ednyfed and Adda ap Ieuan (probably Adda ap Ieuf or Adda Goch of Trefor, the representative of another prominent family in the lordship) had seized the goods of some of the king's opponents valued at 200 marks.⁴⁵ Felton was surety for Ednyfed and Adda, who were making fine of the same sum for the return of their property. This episode may indicate action by the Welsh of Chirkland on behalf of the king against Mortimer. Arundel's tenure of the lordship did not last long but in 1324 he did grant his tenants a charter in return for the sum of 1,600 marks; this removed the burdens experienced under Mortimer rule, restored the right of chase (with qualifications), granted rights of pasture, and ended abuses in the exaction of renders and services.⁴⁶

The return of the younger Mortimer and queen Isabella in 1326 led to the fall of Edward II, and Arundel was dragged down with him. The elder Mortimer had died in the meantime but his nephew now became lord of Chirk and proceeded to ignore Arundel's charter and to revert to the exactions and malpractices of his uncle.⁴⁷ For three years he was the virtual ruler of England and Wales but in 1330 the young Edward III seized power and Roger Mortimer the younger, earl of March, justice of Wales, and lord of Chirk was executed in his turn.

43. *Ibid.*, p. xii; Ilinos Smith, *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

44. *Bywgraffiadur*, p. 300.

45. *C.F.R. 1319-1327*, p. 113.

46. Ilinos Smith, *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-5; the charter is quoted in full in the charter of 1334 (*ibid.*, pp. 161-2).

47. Ilinos Smith, *Op. cit.*, pp. 185-6; see *Powys Fadog*, IV, pp. 19-22 for the petition of the tenants and the inquisition into Mortimer's misdeeds.

His fall was followed by a demonstration by his tenants; in 1331, when royal officials were sorting out the affairs of the deposed and executed favourite, an inquisition into his possessions was taken at Chirk on 11 February.⁴⁸ The jurors, who included Ednyfed Gam, Madog Llwyd and members of other prominent local families, stated that after Mortimer's capture a certain Gruffydd Llwyd of Molverley came with a number of Englishmen and entered the castle, while several local Welshmen hunted in the lord's park. The officials of the lordship then accused others, including Ednyfed, Madog, Master Gruffydd Trefor (later steward of the lordship himself), several men from Maelor Gymraeg and Hwfa the smith;⁴⁹ these had hunted with their hounds in the lord's park and the smith had then broken into the chamber of the castle and the receiver's chest. He, Ednyfed Gam, Madog Llwyd and others, with their 'retinue of the men of Nanheudwy' then took all the rolls and tallies of the receiver with all the other records of the lordship and the official corn-measures and burned them. Nor was this the only indication of a breakdown of order; many rents seem to have gone unpaid.⁵⁰ The breaking of the lord's park was evidently an expression of hatred of Mortimer rule and of rejoicing at its termination. The tenants of Chirkland paid 200 marks in 1332 for a royal grant that the lordship would remain in the hands of the crown; but in 1334 it was granted to Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, who was also appointed justice of Wales;⁵¹ in the same year the new lord granted a charter which cost the tenants 1,600 marks but which restored the privileges of 1324.⁵²

All this evidence indicates that Ednyfed Gam was a person of some consequence in Chirkland. Throughout his life, moreover, he was adding to his estate, both in Nanheudwy and in Maelor Saesneg; these were not large amounts of land but were generally pieces extending or rounding off his existing possessions. Few of the deeds relating to these transactions recite the

48. Powys Fadog, IV, pp. 17-8.

49. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1628 (ii) shows Gruffydd Trefor witnessing a deed as steward in 1344.

50. Extent of Chirkland, p. xii.

51. Ibid.

52. Illinos Smith, Op. cit., pp. 156, 161-2.

amount of money paid but on one occasion, in about 1330, he paid as much as £10 for lands and tenements in Pengwern.⁵³ There were several other purchases in that township along with property in Gredington, Croxton and Hanmer in Maelor Saesneg and late in life he exchanged lands in Nanheudwy for lands in that commote. Unfortunately no topographical details of the Pengwern properties he acquired are given, nor is any information about the extent of his lands available, but on two occasions his son Iorwerth Ddu obtained parcels in the middle of his property.⁵⁵ His brothers were also buying land at this time; Madog Llwyd obtained lands in Maelor Saesneg in the 1280s, on one occasion from his brother Maredudd, and in Nanheudwy, in Maenatyn and Gwernosbynt, between 1340 and 1350 and the brothers frequently appear as witnesses to each other's deeds.⁵⁶ Whether Ednyfed and his brothers held lands in Bromfield and Yale is less certain. Like Nanheudwy this area had been part of Powys Fadog and the descendants of Rhys Sais were certainly well-established there. In 1315 an Ednyfed Gam was one of the tenants who held Trefydd Bychain in Iâl as was a Madog Llwyd; the same name appears in a large group known collectively as the descendants of Elidir (ap Rhys Sais) who held one-third of Rhiwabon, a quarter of Marchwiell and Royton, and the whole of Gwersyllt and Sutton and here Madog Llwyd's brothers Iorwerth, Ednyfed and Dafydd are also mentioned.⁵⁷ There is no corroborative evidence of property here and there is no good reason why there should not have been more than one Ednyfed Gam and one Madog Llwyd in north-east Wales in the early fourteenth century but the names are there. Finally, in 1340-1 the receiver of Chirkland accounted for an increased rent of 13s. 4d. from the mill of Croftis on the Ceiriog (possibly that of Grostith in Bryncunallt) which Ednyfed and Madog had built without the lord's licence;⁵⁸ the Bryncunallt mill was held in 1391-3 by

53. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1630.

54. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1628 (i); 1629 (i-iii); N.L.W. Bettisfield 347, 349, 966; Extent of Chirkland, p. 92. For other purchases by Ednyfed in Maelor Saesneg see Clwyd R.O., D/NH/4, 5, 354.

55. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1628 (ii-vi).

56. N.L.W. Bettisfield 387, 356; N.L.W. Chirk Castle F 116, 951, 1075; e.g. N.L.W. Bettisfield 347 (grant to Ednyfed, 1282, witnessed by Gruffydd, Maredudd and Morgan).

57. Extent of Bromfield and Yale, pp. 59, 129-31.

58. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 8.

Dafydd ap Ednyfed Gam who paid an annual rent of 23s. 4d.

Ednyfed Gam was dead by 1356 when the receiver accounted for a fine of £26.13s.4d. made by his son Iorwerth Ddu before the lord for concealing heriots, for the collection of which he seems to have been responsible.⁶⁰ It seems hard to believe that Ednyfed survived until the 1350s, considering that he first appears as a party to a deed of 1282, but on the other hand his brother Madog Llwyd, who was also acquiring property in the latter decade, was one of the proctors named in Arundel's charter to the tenants of Chirkland in 1355.⁶¹ It would be interesting to know at what age individuals did start obtaining lands in their own right and whether Iorwerth Foel was possibly taking steps to provide for his sons. According to the pedigrees Ednyfed married Gwladus, daughter of Llywelyn ap Madog ap Einion of Iâl, and they had nine sons, Iorwerth Ddu, Iorwerth Fawr, Cynwrig, Rhys, Dafydd, Ieuan, Maredudd, Llywelyn and Gruffydd.⁶² Of these Iorwerth Ddu, Llywelyn, Dafydd, Ieuan and Maredudd appear in various documents;⁶³ Llywelyn, Maredudd and Iorwerth ap Ednyfed Gam were also among the attorneys for Myfanwy, daughter of Gwenhwyfar, daughter of Ednyfed Gam in a plea of novel disseisin before the justice of North Wales against various parties from Cydewain, Anglesey and Eifionydd.⁶⁴ Unfortunately the reference to this action only gives the names of the attorneys. Dafydd ap Ednyfed Gam was the ancestor of the Trevor families of Bryncunallt and Trefalun, whose estates stemmed originally from his share of the inheritance; Llywelyn is described in some pedigrees as ancestor of the Lloyds of Halghton in Maelor Saesneg.⁶⁵ It is significant that after the time of Ednyfed Gam

59. Extent of Chirkland, p. 9.

60. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 21.

61. Llinos Smith, Op. cit., p. 166.

62. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 23; Powys Fadog, IV, p. 145, credits Ednyfed with six sons, omitting Iorwerth Fawr, Cynwrig and Rhys. Llywelyn was his eldest son and on 12 March, 1342, he conveyed all his lands in Halghton to him (Clwyd R.O., D/NH/6).

63. e.g. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1629 (viii) (Dafydd and Ieuan); N.L.W. Bettisfield 511 (Maredudd).

64. Record of Caernarvon, p. 209; there is no mention in the pedigrees of a daughter called Gwenhwyfar although Powys Fadog, IV, p. 145, refers to one called Margaret.

65. Powys Fadog, IV. p. 145.

there is no further mention of lands in Maelor Saesneg among the possessions of the Pengwern family, which suggests that they formed the share of one of Iorwerth Ddu's brothers.

The Pengwern descent runs through Iorwerth Ddu who was, like his father, a person of some prominence in Chirkland. His career spanned the second half of the fourteenth century; he first appears in an official capacity in 1356 when he was farming the office of chief forester for the annual sum of £12.6s.8d.⁶⁶ He had ceased to hold office by the following year; but he was holding the ringildry of Llangollen at an annual farm of 100s. between 1377 and 1379.⁶⁷ In 1355 he, along with his brother Maredudd and his uncle, Madog Llwyd, was one of the proctors nominated by the community of the lordship to attach their seals to the new charter of that year on their behalf.⁶⁸ This charter, which may have been the result of the Mortimers relinquishing their claim to Chirk in 1354, cost the community 1,200 marks, payable in twelve annual instalments;⁶⁹ it confirmed the earlier charters and also dealt with waste and bond land and with the transaction of prid which played a central part in the building up of so many estates. Prid is perhaps best defined as a conveyance by recurrent mortgage and the charter appears to confirm previous acquisitions of bond land in this way while stating implicitly that the lord's licence would be required for any future transactions.⁷⁰ Only one such conveyance to which Iorwerth Ddu was a party has survived although there are two others among the Mostyn deeds;⁷¹ they date from 1344, 1351 and 1352 and

66. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 21.

67. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 34, 35.

68. Ilinos Smith, Op. Cit., p. 166.

69. Ilinos Smith, Op. Cit., pp. 156-8, 164-6; the relinquishment of the Mortimer claim cost Arundel £5,000 and Dr. Smith suggests that the 1,200 marks may have been intended to help reimburse him. The charter seems to have been in the form of an indenture, which suggests a formal agreement between lord and tenants rather than a grant (Ibid., p. 159).

70. The tir prid conveyance is discussed by R. R. Davies, 'The twilight of Welsh law, 1284-1536' in History, LI (1965) pp. 157-8; T. Jones Pierce, 'The law of Wales - the last phase' in Trans. Cymm., 1963, pp. 23-4; and J. Beverley Smith, 'Crown and community in North Wales in the reign of Henry Tudor' in W.H.R. III, ii. (1966), pp. 149-51.

71. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1628 (iv), 1633, 1634.

were therefore presumably among the transactions given retrospective sanction by the charter. The charter was also concerned with the regulation of waste and assarts; action seems subsequently to have been taken against those who appropriated waste land without licence and a court roll of 1386 shows the extent to which Iorwerth Ddu in particular had been adding to his possessions by occupying waste and escheat land.⁷² On the dorse of this roll there is a list of escheats according to which Iorwerth held the whole of Pengwern except for two gafaelion without licence; he had also assarted 40 acres of the adjacent waste and he held lands called Bryn Meryn in Hendregeginan, the lands of Adda Ddu, who had been hanged for felony, and Madog Llwyd's share in a fishpond, all of which he had also obtained without licence. A number of others had committed similar offences; the land thus illegally occupied was regarded as having escheated to the lord.⁷³

The extent of his illegal encroachments shows that Iorwerth Ddu had an abiding interest in enlarging his estate and this is borne out by the deeds; the earliest date from 1344, during the lifetime of his father, and relate to small parcels of land in Pengwern among the lands of Ednyfed Gam.⁷⁴ Many of these deeds do reflect several generations of subdivision, the result of which was that the patrimony of an individual might consist of a number of scattered plots and they also reflect the beginning of a process of expansion and consolidation on the part of the more successful proprietors. There was certainly a thriving market in land in fourteenth-century Chirkland and bondmen, in particular, were tending to dispose of their holdings to freemen.⁷⁵ It may be significant that a number of the deeds to which Iorwerth was a party do not give any topographical details; they refer merely to 'lands and tenements', particularly in Pengwern.⁷⁶ This suggests the buying out of lesser

72. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 73.

73. Llinos Smith, *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

74. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1628 (ii, vi).

75. The development of a market in land in the lordship is discussed along with the whole question of holdings there in Llinos Smith, 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry, 1282-1415' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1971), pp. 269-323; see especially pp. 281, 300-19.

76. See, for example, U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1629 (ix) in which Adda ap Ieuaf ap Iorwerth conveyed 'his holdings of lands, tenements, etc. in Nanheudwy', 29 June, 1366.

proprietors and may illustrate the process whereby many were forced off the land. It is also significant that on 30 January, 1394, Iorwerth leased a messuage and outhouse in Gwern Ddu in Pengwern to Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Madog and his wife Dyddgu for two lives;⁷⁷ this follows a quitclaim made by Dafydd to Iorwerth and his wife Angharad ten days earlier.⁷⁸ Here the process of change can be seen in operation; a small proprietor sells out to a larger one and then becomes his tenant and the traditional form of tenure is replaced by the landlord-tenant relationship. Iorwerth also bought a considerable amount of land from his kinsmen, the sons, and in one case the grandson, of Madog Llwyd.⁷⁹ These comprised properties in Bryncunallt, Y Waun, Hendregeginan and Maenatyn and the transactions suggest that some had found their shares of the inheritance too small and were moving out.

The extent of the lordship of Chirk made between 1391 and 1393 illustrates many of the changes which took place in the fourteenth century;⁸⁰ Iorwerth Ddu and the other sons of Ednyfed Gam appear frequently in its pages. The document begins with the borough of Chirk. This was certainly not a borough which excluded Welshmen; in fact all 25 burgages were held by Welsh tenants who paid an annual burgage rent of a shilling, as in Hereford and the Edwardian boroughs of Gwynedd.⁸¹ The tenants of Nanheudwy, both free and bond, were obliged to trade at the weekly market held every Sunday. Chirk was not a large and prosperous municipality; it was overshadowed by Oswestry, the centre for the whole region, and it has been suggested that the weakness of the borough accounted, at least in part, for the strong position of the freeholders within the lordship.⁸² A number of these held burgages there and Iorwerth was among them; he held two of them on his own account and another jointly with another tenant.⁸³ His brother Ieuan held one himself and another jointly

77. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1628 (iii).

78. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1629 (iv).

79. N.L.W. Chirk Castle 906, 1076; Extent of Chirkland, p. 92.

80. The general significance of the Extent is discussed by the editor, Dr. G. P. Jones, in his introduction, pp. ix-xxv.

81. Extent of Chirkland, pp. 1-2.

82. 'The Lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', pp. 369, 372.

83. Extent of Chirkland, pp. 1-2.

and another brother, Dafydd, held one jointly. In 1408 the officials of the lordship accounted for 3s. decayed rents for three acres in Chirk, late of Ieuan ap Adda ap Iorwerth, and 2s. for two acres, late of Hywel and Ieuan, the sons of Ieuan ap Ednyfed Gam, all of which were forfeit because of their participation in the Glyn Dwr revolt.⁸⁴ The rents work out at a shilling an acre, which suggests that one acre was the area of each burgage. The burgesses of Chirk seem largely, therefore, to have been free tenants who were prominent in the lordship and who presumably resided elsewhere.

The other lands of Iorwerth and his brothers were scattered through Nanheudwy. In Maenatyn in the ringildry of Isclawdd, Iorwerth and Dafydd ap Ednyfed each held a cottage for which they paid an annual rent of 5d. and the former also rented demesne land for which he paid 4d. each year.⁸⁵ A considerable amount of the demesne was being leased at this time and it was yielding a total of 54s. 8d. in rents. It had ceased to be worked for the lord by 1324 and by the time of the extent the practice of leasing was widespread.⁸⁶ In the adjacent township of Hendregeginan the land of Hwfa ap Madog was held by 'Iorwerth David ap Eden', which probably means Iorwerth and Dafydd, at an annual rent of assise of 8d. In Gwernosbynt, which may well have been among the original possessions of the family, Iorwerth and Ieuan ap Ednyfed and their co-sharers held the whole township, consisting of four gafaelion and one castell of land, paying an annual rent of assise of 8s. 9d. and other customary dues amounting to 5s. 8d.;⁸⁷ a render of grain was also due at the feast of All Saints. The evidence of deeds suggests that Iorwerth and Ieuan's co-tenants in this township included the descendants of Madog Llwyd. In Bryncunallt Dafydd ap Ednyfed held a gafael and a half jointly with several other tenants, some of whom, at least, were members of another prominent local family, the descendants of Adda ap Awr; he also held the mill of Grostith at an annual rent

84. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 56.

85. Extent of Chirkland, p. 7.

86. 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 139.

87. Extent of Chirkland, p.8; the castell appears here both as a measurement of area and a unit of capacity; the latter was about half a bushel but the size of the former is unknown (G.P.C.).

of 23s. 4d. and he and Iorwerth, with seven others, held the park of Bryncunallt except for the part of it held by the tenants of Pen-y-clawdd.⁸⁸ For this they paid an annual rent of £4. 4s. 7d. The half gafael of Meilir Farch in Pen-y-clawdd held by Iorwerth has already been discussed.⁸⁹ In Trefor Uchaf a Iorwerth ap Ednyfed was one of the tenants of Gafael Rosseriet and of the quarter gafael of the heirs of Owain.⁹⁰ But Iorwerth Ddu's estate was centred on Pengwern. He held the whole township jointly with Iorwerth ap Ieuan ap Cynwrig, Iorwerth ap Hywel and Llywelyn ap Madog ap Adda at an annual rent of assise of 20s.⁹¹ In Nanheudwy the standard rent of assise for each gafael was 3s. 4d., which suggests that there were six of them in Pengwern;⁹² in 1386 Iorwerth had been described as holding the whole township with the exception of two gafaelion.⁹³ The extent describes the township as terram ecclesiasticam which may indicate some connection with Llangollen, once the seat of a clas.⁹⁴ A total of 22 tenants paid 6s. 4d. in customary dues.

These, therefore, were the lands of Iorwerth Ddu ap Ednyfed Gam. A number of the more enterprising tenants in Chirkland in the fourteenth century were building up their estates by purchase and consolidating them by exchange, but Iorwerth seems to have been the most successful of them.⁹⁵ Partible inheritance was the rule in Nanheudwy as elsewhere and the extent shows many cases of brothers and remoter kinsmen holding jointly in particular gafaelion; when the share of an individual came on the market it might be purchased by an enterprising tenant like Iorwerth who might then use it as a base for further acquisitions. Partition could lead to morcellation, but it could also lead to the heirs choosing to dispose of their inheritance and once again it was Iorwerth and those like him who would add to their properties; the Black Death had also meant the availability of land for purchase. The deeds show

Extent of Chirkland, p. 9.

Ibid., p. 12.

Ibid., p. 15.

Ibid., pp. 58-9.

'The Lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 272.

N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 73.

Lloyd, Hist. Wales, I, p. 246.

95. 'The Lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', pp. 318-9.

that common fields predominated in Chirkland and that individuals therefore held in scattered strips; as time went on some bought out their neighbours and some exchanged strips to expand and consolidate their patrimony.⁹⁶ This could lead eventually to some kind of enclosure. Some tenants were already using the facilities provided by English land law to hand on an undivided inheritance.⁹⁷ All over Europe the development of a market in land was bringing about a new stratification of rural society. Some men prospered and some went to the wall, and Iorwerth Ddu was enterprising enough, like his father before him, to fall into the former category. The family seems always to have been an important one; Iorwerth had been able to afford to farm the forestership of Chirkland for £12. 6s. 8d. in 1356, which indicates that he would have had no difficulty in finding the money to pay for his purchases of land.⁹⁸ It is not known how much he spent or how much his properties were worth; the extent was only concerned with what was due to the lord and this comprised payments which were commutations of food renders and services once due to the rulers of Powys Fadog.⁹⁹ Nor is there any information available about the area of his possessions; the gafael, like the gwely, was a unit of tenure, not of measurement. In 1617 the Mostyn estate in Pengwern amounted to 608 acres;¹⁰⁰ however, some land had been acquired since the fourteenth century and some had gone to other descendants of Iorwerth. But, whatever its exact value and its precise proportions, Iorwerth Ddu had by the end of his life, partly by inheritance and partly by purchase, accumulated a respectable estate and his activities, like those of another Mostyn ancestor, Tudur ab Ithel Fychan in Flintshire, show that consolidation and estate building were well under way before the end of the fourteenth century.

96. Ibid., pp. 278, 281. The whole question of holdings and inheritance in the lordship is discussed in detail in *ibid.*, Chapter VI, pp. 269-323.

97. Ibid., p. 297.

98. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 21.

99. Dr. Llinos Smith suggests that this commutation had taken place, possibly in two stages, under the thirteenth-century princes of Powys Fadog, perhaps as the result of marcher influence ('The Lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 236); she also suggests a reorganisation of the tenurial structure in the area, the gafaelion being superimposed on an earlier settlement pattern, possibly before 1282 (*Ibid.*, p. 273).

100. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

Iorwerth Ddu died some time after 1394; his last appearance is in a deed dated 10 October of that year.¹⁰¹ He married Angharad, daughter of Adda Goch ap Adda ap Awr, another prominent figure in Chirkland, who, with Ednyfed Gam, was recorded as owing the lord 100 marks in 1330-1.¹⁰² Relations between the two families must have been close since another of Adda's daughters and co-heiresses, Gwenhwyfar, married Iorwerth's brother Dafydd;¹⁰³ this may explain some of the lands held by Iorwerth and Dafydd outside Pengwern. According to the pedigrees Iorwerth and Angharad had four sons, Adda, Goronwy, Tudur, and Ieuan, and three daughters, Eva, who died unmarried, Margaret, who married Madog ap Ieuan of Eutun, and Myfanwy, who married Goronwy ap Tudur of Penmynydd.¹⁰⁴ Ieuan ap Iorwerth ap Ednyfed was one of the witnesses to a deed of 1368 conveying lands in Gwernosbynt and Y Waun to Iorwerth, and Mostyn and Glenn identified him as that John Trefor who subsequently became bishop of St. Asaph and one of the leading supporters of Owain Glyn Dŵr, citing various genealogical manuscripts as their source.¹⁰⁵ The identification must be doubtful; the bishop is described elsewhere as the son of Llywelyn ap Ieuf ap Adda ap Awr, which would make him the nephew of Adda Goch and cousin-in-law of Iorwerth.¹⁰⁶ But there may be some confusion here since there were two bishops of St. Asaph called John Trefor; the first was bishop from 1346 to 1357, while the pontificate of the second was from 1394 to 1410.¹⁰⁷ The identification of the second bishop with Ieuan ap Iorwerth Ddu cannot therefore be ruled out entirely.¹⁰⁸ He was one of the most eminent Welshmen of his day and he owed his rise to a successful career in the papal service; if he was

101. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1637.

102. Powys Fadog, IV, p. 16.

103. Ibid., p. 137.

104. Mostyn, Glenn, p. 24.

105. N.L.W. Chirk Castle F 906; Mostyn, Glenn, pp. 24-7.

106. Powys Fadog, IV, p. 135. Iolo Goch referred to the bishop as 'hil Awr' ('of the lineage of Awr') (Iolo Goch ac Eraill, p. 82) but this could conceivably relate to his maternal descent: there are no other genealogical references in either of Iolo's two cywyddau to him.

107. Le Neve, Fasti, XI (1965), p. 38.

108. For John Trefor's life see Bywgraffiadur, p. 924, and E. J. Jones, 'Bishop John Trevor (II) of St. Asaph' in Jnl. Hist. Soc. Church in Wales, XVIII (1968), pp. 36-46, also Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, p. 205 n.1.

the son of Iorwerth Ddu the fact that he was able to have such a career may bear some witness to the family's status at this time. As far as the daughters were concerned, marriage was a significant political weapon. The Welsh families of the fourteenth century, indeed of every century, intermarried extensively and the close network of connections and obligations which this created played a key part in the history of the period. The marriage of Myfanwy and Goronwy ap Tudur is another indication of the family's standing. The Penmynydd family was one of the leading houses in North Wales and Goronwy had a distinguished career in the royal service, being appointed constable of Beaumaris castle a few days before his death in 1382.¹⁰⁹ He and Myfanwy were buried in an impressive alabaster tomb in the Franciscan friary of Llan-faes which was moved at the Dissolution to the parish church of Penmynydd.¹¹⁰ Morfudd, the daughter of Goronwy and Myfanwy, was eventually to transmit the rather tattered post-Glyn Dwr remnants of the Penmynydd estate to a line of minor Anglesey squires.¹¹¹

There are few references to Adda ap Iorwerth Ddu, which suggests that he may have predeceased his father. In 1392 Adda ap Iorwerth and Hwfa Ddu answered for the sum of £34. 12s. from Llangollen ringildry and a year later he was farming the lower fulling mill at Chirk for 26s. 8d.¹¹² He also paid off five shillings of his arrears as rhingyll of Llangollen. These are all the references to him; he was neither party nor witness to any surviving deeds. But Adda ap Iorwerth married, and married well; his wife was Isabel, daughter of Gruffydd Fychan, lord of Glyndyfrdwy and Cynllaith Owain and one of the last surviving members of the native Welsh aristocracy.¹¹³ This marriage was significant for two reasons, in the first place it again reflected the status

109. For Goronwy see Glyn Roberts, 'Wyrion Eden', in Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 199-201, and 'Teulu Penmynydd' in *ibid.*, p. 251. The poet Rhisierdyn composed an awdl to Myfanwy (Myvyrian Archaeology (1870) p. 291).

110. R.C.A.M. Inventory, Anglesey, pp. 129-30.

111. Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 254-73.

112. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 41, 42.

113. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 27.

of the Pengwern family since the native aristocracy, though a fast-declining class, was still very conscious of its position and its origins in the royal houses of Wales. The children of Gruffydd Fychan were of the very highest blood since in them were united the lines of Powys and Deheubarth.¹¹⁴ The other important consequence of this marriage was that it made Adda the brother-in-law of Owain Glyn Dwr. The lord of Glyndyfrdwy was a close neighbour; both his lordships adjoined the lordship of Chirk and Gruffydd Fychan and his son had close links with the earls of Arundel.¹¹⁵ Thus Pengwern was linked by marriage with both Penmynydd and Glyndyfrdwy, the nerve-centres of the revolt, and there was yet another link through the marriage of Adda's uncle Dafydd ap Ednyfed Gam to Isabel's sister Morfudd as her second husband.¹¹⁶

By Isabel Adda had three sons, Ieuan, Rhys and Maredudd. Ieuan inherited Pengwern and it is with him that the process of accumulation through marriage which led eventually to the creation of the Mostyn estate really starts. Ieuan is a better documented figure than his father, the more so since his career spanned the Glyn Dwr revolt. There is no doubt of his involvement in his uncle's rebellion; indeed, the obligations of kinship being what they were, he could hardly have stood aside.¹¹⁷ Chirkland was certainly affected by the revolt from the start; as in other parts of Wales, law and order was already breaking down and the lords had been pushing their tenants very hard indeed during the last years of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁸ At least three members of one prominent Chirkland family were present at that assembly at Glyndyfrdwy on 16 September, 1400, when the die was cast and Owain proclaimed prince of Wales; so, too, were Ieuan's Hammer kinsmen.¹¹⁹ It is not known when Ieuan became involved but he was still under sentence of outlawry in 1406. At the end of the list of Anglesey men who submitted and made their peace with the

114. J. E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower (1931), pp. 16-7.

115. 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 377; see also A. Goodman, 'Owain Glyndwr before 1400' in W.H.R. V, 1 (1970), pp. 67-70, and R. Ian Jack, 'New light on the early days of Owain Glyndwr' in B.B.C.S., XXI, ii (1965), pp. 164-5.

116. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 28 n.1.

117. According to Mostyn and Glenn there is no evidence of his involvement but this is not so.

118. 'The lordship of Chirk and Oswestry', pp. 380, 385-6.

119. J. E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, p. 31.

crown in that year there is a further list of those who were still in rebellion.¹²⁰ Owain himself heads it, but Ieuan is also there with his wife Angharad.

Like every other part of Wales Chirkland was hard hit by the revolt and in 1403 no rents were accounted for by the receiver because of it.¹²¹ Order seems to have been restored by 1407; in that year Arundel granted a pardon to his tenants and in 1408 the receiver accounted for the rents from a large number of properties forfeit to the lord on account of rebellion.¹²² These included the lands of Ieuan as well as those of his kinsman Edward ap Dafydd ap Ednyfed Gam, the ancestor of the Trevors of Brynrouallt; the rent from Ieuan's property amounted to 20s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. along with 3s. from three burgages in Chirk. But men soon made their peace with the lord; Edward ap Dafydd made fine of £20 for the restoration of his lands, while in 1409 the receiver reported that Ieuan's lands had been demised to him at farm although Arundel had in 1408 granted them to John Wele, an individual who was later to find himself in trouble for negotiating with Welsh rebels without authority.¹²³ Those who had been outlawed for rebellion do often seem to have been given the first opportunity to buy back their lands.¹²⁴

Ieuan was, in fact, typical of the majority of the uchelwyr who took part in the revolt.¹²⁵ Few, apart from those who died against the peace, lost their lands permanently and when the tumult had died away most were back in their ancestral homes, disappointed and disillusioned, perhaps, but unharmed. The process of estate-building went on in the fifteenth century at an increasing rate. Some lost ~~out~~, of course, and some gained; Ieuan's Tudor kinsmen lost a

120. Glyn Roberts, 'The Anglesey submissions of 1406' in B.B.C.S. XV, i (1952), p. 59.

121. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 55.

122. 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 398; N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 56.

123. 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 398; N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 57; Extent of Chirkland, p. 93; J. Beverley Smith, 'The last phase of the Glyndŵr rebellion' in B.B.C.S. XXII, iii (1967), p. 252.

124. 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 420.

125. The term uchelwr (pl. uchelwyr) used in this study has no exact English equivalent. Originally it meant any free-born Welshman but it later came to apply to the landowning class. It is, perhaps, best translated as 'esquire', especially since 'gentry' has acquired certain historiographical overtones.

great deal, not only in land but also in power and influence, which their relatives of Penrhyn inherited as the result of a timely change of allegiance.¹²⁶ But for most of this class recovery was swift once they had purchased forgiveness.¹²⁷ All the Mostyn components, Pengwern, Mostyn, and Gloddaith, were involved and all emerged in possession of all or part of their estates.¹²⁸ Like that of Pengwern, the other two families were connected with Owain and with the Tudors, and in his seminal study of the role of the uchelwyr in the revolt Dr. Rees Davies has made a number of important points about the web of family connections which covered the whole of Wales and about the network of social and political obligations imposed by descent and by marriage.¹²⁹ It was not only the direct Pengwern connections with Glyndyfrdwy and Penmynydd that were important in this context; Ieuan's aunt Margaret had married Madog ap Ieuan ap Eutun who was one of Owain's earliest supporters and who was present at that first gathering at Glyndyfrdwy.¹³⁰ Ieuan ap Adda, therefore, was typical of his class and because of his family links with the leaders of the revolt was very close to its centre. There is no record of earlier attitudes; nothing can be learned, for example, of the reaction of the Pengwern family to the activities of Owain Lawgoch or to the opposition of their lord and his family to Richard II which led, on their disgrace and forfeiture, to the annexation of the Arundel marcher lordships to the newly-created principality of Chester.¹³¹ But the genesis of the Glyn Dŵr revolt has been described as 'a conspiracy of a closely related group of well-to-do gentlemen' and the house of Pengwern undoubtedly qualified for membership of this group.¹³²

126. Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 210-2.

127. The comments of Dr. Ralph Griffiths on this in 'Gentlemen and rebels in later medieval Cardiganshire' (Ceredigion, 1966, pp. 156-7) are probably valid for the rest of Wales.

128. The role of Mostyn is discussed in Chapter II of this study and that of Gloddaith in Chapter III.

129. R. R. Davies, 'Owain Glyn Dŵr and the Welsh squirearchy' in Trans. Cymm., 1968, pp. 150-69.

130. J. E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, p. 31.

131. 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', p. 83.

132. R. R. Davies, Op. cit., p. 152.

Ieuan ap Adda survived his uncle's revolt, possibly out of pocket, but unscathed. In 1411 and 1412 he was acting as foreman of the jury of free tenants of Isclawdd ringildry and he also appears as a party to two deeds;¹³³ in 1427 his kinsman Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Llwyd released lands in Chirk, Gwernosbynt and Waun Isaf to him and in 1432 he quitclaimed the lands in Pengwern, formerly of John Trefor, clerk, which came to him on John's death, to Hywel Llwyd, Dafydd ap Iorwerth, and Mali ferch Iorwerth.¹³⁴ Ieuan's wife was Angharad, the daughter and co-heiress of Ednyfed ap Tudur ap Coronwy of Trecastell in Anglesey and thus the Trecastell property was brought into the family.¹³⁵ This marriage strengthened the link between Pengwern and the Wyrion Eden clan; Ieuan's aunt had married Ednyfed's elder brother, so that his father-in-law was the brother of his uncle by marriage. The pedigrees credit Ieuan and Angharad with four sons, Ieuan Fychan, Iorwerth, Llywelyn, and Rhys, and a daughter, Isabel, who married Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Einion of Hendwr in Edeirnion and Corsygedol in Ardudwy, the brother of the hero of the epic defence of Harlech during the Wars of the Roses;¹³⁶ another two sons, Dafydd and Madog, appear as parties or witnesses in various deeds.¹³⁷ He died on 26 December, 1448.¹³⁸ Of his sons, Ieuan Fychan inherited Pengwern and Trecastell, while Iorwerth seems to have obtained the lands in Gwernosbynt and the adjacent townships as his share.¹³⁹ He was the ancestor of the important family of Edwards of Plas Newydd which became one of the leading houses in the

133. N.L.W. Chirk Castle D 76, mm. 1a, b; Chirk Castle F 920; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1629 (v).

134. It is tempting to identify this John Trefor with the former bishop of St. Asaph who died in 1410 and if he were so it might help to identify him as Ieuan's uncle; on the other hand, the existence of a Ieuan in holy orders in the Pengwern family might have led to a mistaken identification with the bishop.

135. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 29.

136. Ibid.

137. Extent of Chirkland, p. 92; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1629 (v) (Dafydd); N.L.W. Puleston 935 (Madog).

138. J. R. S. Phillips, 'When did Owain Glyndŵr die' in B.B.C.S. XXIV, i (1970), p. 76, citing N.L.W. Peniarth 26, p. 98.

139. Rentals of the Mostyn estate which begin in the late sixteenth century show no property in Chirkland except in Pengwern, neither does the survey of Chirkland drawn up in 1569 (N.L.W. Chirk Castle F 14000); in that survey, however, John Edwards is recorded as holding extensive lands in Gwernosbynt and the neighbourhood. For the Edwards pedigree see Powys Fadog, IV, pp. 63-6.

area and which continued to acquire lands from various kinsmen.¹⁴⁰

Ieuan Fychan was by far the outstanding member of the Pengwern family and the real founder of the Mostyn estate; he seems, too, to have been among the most cultivated Welsh laymen of his time. Perhaps his greatest achievement, in family terms, was his marriage to Angharad, the daughter and heiress of Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan of Mostyn in Tegeingl. As a result of this match he became a prominent figure in Flintshire, spending a good deal of his time at Mostyn, which was natural, since he did not inherit Pengwern until his father died in 1448. After Ieuan ap Adda's death Mostyn replaced Pengwern as the chief seat of the family; the Chirkland estate could not compete with the Flintshire one in terms of wealth or influence. In dealing with the career of Ieuan Fychan there is one major problem, namely the absence of record evidence for the period. Few fifteenth-century deeds are to be found among the Mostyn archives and although there is a continuous series of Flintshire plea-rolls from the Edwardian conquest down to the union, along with a large quantity of ancillary material among the public records, they become increasingly formal after the revolt. On the other hand, however, Ieuan was the first member of the family to whom poetry has survived and he was, in addition, a poet himself.

A John or Ieuan Fychan was an esquire in the retinue of the earl of Arundel when he went to France for the Agincourt campaign in 1415 although there is no certain identification.¹⁴¹ According to the family history he was exempted from the operation of the penal statutes, although no reference is given for this statement, and in 1424 someone of the same name was one of those departing with Sir John Talbot for the relief of Croytoy.¹⁴² Exemption from the

140. For example, N.L.W. Chirk Castle F 1077: lands originally conveyed to granters by Ieuan Fychan in ringildry of Isclawdd, 1474: and Extent of Chirkland, p. 93: lands originally held by Ieuan ap Ednyfed Gern in Gwernosbynt, 1475.

141. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 32, citing Arch. Camb., 1866, p. 399.

142. Ibid., citing Procs. Privy Council, III, p. 138 and Rot. Parl., IV, p. 254. It is, however, very likely that the Ieuan Fychan named in the latter reference came from Herefordshire.

disabilities imposed by the Lancastrian penal code was not uncommon and was often a reward for good service to the crown, while service in the royal armies in France would have been natural for someone of Ieuan's social position; a spell at the French or Scottish wars often formed part of the experience of Welsh uchelwyr in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Ieuan Fychan saw military service under Henry V and his captains; there was certainly no shortage of Welshmen in the campaigns and in the early years they included some who had been among the military leaders of the Glyn Dŵr revolt.¹⁴³

There is no record of the date of Ieuan's marriage but it is possible that he was Angharad's second husband.¹⁴⁴ He first appeared in Flintshire in 1432 when queen Katherine, the widow of Henry V, leased the town of Mostyn to him for twenty years at an annual rent of £14;¹⁴⁵ by this time Katherine had married his mother's cousin Owen Tudur. Mostyn had been farmed by Ieuan's father-in-law, Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan, during the last decade of the previous century; after 1432 it was rarely out of the hands of the family.¹⁴⁶ In 1437 he was appointed steward of the manor of Mostyn, to hold office during the royal pleasure.¹⁴⁷ In May, 1434, Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan ap Adda of Northop, gentleman, was the defendant in a plea of debt at the sessions;¹⁴⁸ he featured in the plea rolls in 1442 when he appeared as attorney for his brother Iorwerth

143. R. R. Davies, Op. cit., p. 165. For the part played by Welshmen in the 15th-century wars, see A. D. Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years War' in W.H.R. IV, i (1968), pp. 35-41.

144. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 192.

145. C.R.R. II, p. 553.

146. The devolution of the township and manor of Mostyn is discussed in Appendix B of this study; it had been among the lands granted to Katherine in 1423 after her widowhood (C.R.R. II, p. 418). Ieuan obtained a fresh lease in 1442 for 12 years at an annual rent of 20 marks (C.R.R. II, p. 19); this had been surrendered or terminated by 1447 when he was pardoned the arrears of his accounts in consequence of the grant of a subsidy of 1,300 marks to the king from Flintshire on the death of Katherine (C.R.R. II, p. 283). By 1453 he was farming the township, having paid £20. 6s. 8d. for the renewal of his grant (C.R.R. II, p. 19) and in 1454 the town and lordship were farmed to his son Elis for 5 years at an annual rent of £10 (C.R.R. II, p. 554).

147. C.R.R. II, p. 19.

148. P.R.O. Chester 30/21; the debt appears to have stemmed from a suit between John Chetwynd, his predecessor as farmer of Mostyn, and Ieuan himself.

in a suit over land.¹⁴⁹ He also served from time to time as a juror and as a member of the county grand jury, as in 1447, 1451 and 1452.¹⁵⁰ On various occasions he was a surety for different individuals in receipt of leases from the crown and in 1437 or 1438 he was appointed, along with Roger Salusbury and Jankyn ap Dafydd ap Iorwerth, to make an extent of the lands of Nicholas Saxton, recently deceased, one of the richest men in Flintshire.¹⁵¹ According to one source Nicholas Saxton's mother was the daughter of Ieuan's wife Angharad but this does not really make chronological sense.¹⁵² Ieuan was obviously one of those leading uchelwyr on whom the authorities were coming to rely more and more for the maintenance of law and order in the county, a development which may foreshadow the introduction of justices of the peace a century later. It shows that the Lancastrian penal code had little practical effect, despite the complaints of the burgesses from time to time, and it also shows that, whatever the effects of the revolt, the administration, be it royal or marcher, could not work without active Welsh participation; office-holding was a factor in the rise of many families in the fifteenth century and in the long run the grip of the uchelwyr on the levers of power slackened hardly at all.¹⁵³ But office was not the only road to eminence; social and territorial influence was often sufficient to secure local predominance without the additional impetus of office under the crown. It was during the next century that office, especially at the county level, became important and that the cursus honorum of sheriff, justice of the peace, deputy lieutenant and knight of the shire came to be regarded as the undoubted

149. P.R.O. Chester 30/24, m. 12a.

150. P.R.O. Chester 25/29, mm. 3b, 8a, 8b, 9b, 10b.

151. In 1451, for example, Ieuan was a surety for Thomas de Poole and Nicholas More, lessees of the town and lordship of Ewloe and the coal-mines there (C.R.R. II, p. 594); P.R.O. S.C.6/1193/12.

152. Powys Fadog IV, p. 155; this pedigree states that Ieuan was Angharad's first husband, which makes no sense whatsoever.

153. The classic example of this is the family of Penrhyn in Caernarvonshire (Bywgraffiadur, II, pp. 95-7). The comments of Ralph Griffiths in Ceredigion, 1966, p. 158, have a general relevance.

right of a county's social leaders. Ieuan Fychan held no public office in the county of Flint; he had no need to. The authorities needed the co-operation of the gentry and their social position gave them an influence and a prestige with which English officials could not compete. This probably explains the use of special commissions to the leading men of the neighbourhood to carry out particular duties.

On 26 November, 1454, Ieuan Fychan and a number of other Flintshire gentlemen were commissioned to arrest Henry, abbot of Basingwerk, and various other individuals for 'the propagation of divers felonies, etc., in the county of Flint'.¹⁵⁴ Thus the local gentry were being called on to take steps for the maintenance of law and order; this particular commission was the ultimate result of a series of episodes which cast a bizarre light on the activities of the Cistercian house of Basingwerk at this time as well as reflecting contemporary lawlessness.¹⁵⁵ Ieuan's name appeared in another commission on 25 June, 1455, this time with the general responsibility of arresting all the disturbers of the peace in the county.¹⁵⁶ Standards of law and order in fifteenth-century Wales were low, as indeed they were in contemporary England.¹⁵⁷ The reign of Henry VI has become almost proverbial as a period of lawlessness, terrorism and violence, a period during which magnates and their followers struggled for the control of their particular corners of the kingdom with the central government powerless to intervene; there is no shortage of sources or examples. The career of Gruffydd ap Nicholas in South Wales shows how a local

154. C.R.R. II, p. 19.

155. The deplorable career of Abbot Henry de Wyrehale may be followed in the Flintshire plea and indictment rolls: P.R.O. Chester 30/21; 30/24, m. 7a-b; 25/26, mm. 9a, 10b, 11a, 14b; Mostyn & Glenn, p. 49. His activities began in 1423. There is no record of the result of the commission.

156. C.R.R. II, p. 19; for earlier examples of these special commissions see R. Stewart-Brown, The Serjeants of the Peace in Medieval England and Wales (1936), pp. 43-4.

157. The situation in Wales is discussed by Ralph Griffiths in 'Wales and the marches' in S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths, eds. Fifteenth-century England: studies in politics and society (Manchester, 1972), pp. 145-65.

uchelwr could seize effective power and rule in the king's name and his own interest.¹⁵⁸ As the grip of the royal government slackened, the power of the man on the spot increased. As in the previous century, every uchelwr had his plaid, his retinue bound to him by ties of blood, service and social obligation, and this provided him with the force necessary to pursue his ambitions. In Wales, as in England, the weakness of the Lancastrian government meant that there was no effective check on the activities of local leaders; in Wales, too, disorder was one of the legacies of the revolt and loyalties then were to dictate alignments and allegiances for many years to come. Admittedly the administration continued to function. Courts were still held and royal revenues collected but, as the late Professor Glyn Roberts pointed out, 'the mere holding of courts of law does not of itself prove respect for law and order'.¹⁵⁹

It was against this background that the Wars of the Roses were fought. Recent scholarship sees this conflict as stemming from the attempts of the nobility to put an end to the utterly incompetent rule of Henry VI in an age when more sophisticated methods of removing an incapable ruler had not been developed.¹⁶⁰ Wales was deeply involved, not only because the greater part of the country, both principality and march, had come by marriage or inheritance to either Lancaster or York, but also because many individual Welshmen played an active part. On the whole, the principality and the Duchy lordships in the march were for Lancaster, while the seat of Yorkist power and influence lay in the complex of former Mortimer lordships which the duke had inherited.¹⁶¹ The sides taken by Welsh uchelwyr were often dictated by the position their fathers had taken in the Glyn Dwr revolt or by local rivalries, rather than by

158. Ralph Griffiths, 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the fall of the house of Lancaster' in W.H.R., II, iii (1965), pp. 213-31.

159. Glyn Roberts, 'The threshold of the modern age' in Aspects of Welsh History, p. 290.

160. B. P. Wolffe, 'The personal rule of Henry VI' in Chrimes, Ross and Griffiths, Op. cit., pp. 44-45.

161. William Rees, An Historical Atlas of Wales (3rd. edn. 1959), pp. 48-50 and plate 53.

a positive enthusiasm for either party; the majority in the royal lands, however, were Lancastrians, in some cases possibly (as in that of Gruffydd ap Nicholas) because weak government at the centre meant increased power and influence for them.¹⁶² And, as in the revolt, men's loyalties were often determined by the ties of kinship.¹⁶³

Flintshire was largely Lancastrian. Admittedly the Stanleys, lords of Mold and Hawarden, were masters at hedging their bets; in 1459 the then Lord Stanley had decided not to join the Lancastrian side at Elore Heath and in 1485 it was Lord Stanley's last-minute decision to intervene on the side of Henry Tudor that may have decided the battle of Bosworth in his favour.¹⁶⁴ But most of the leading gentry in Tegeingl and Maelor Saesneg supported Henry VI and subsequently Henry Tudor; there can be no doubt whatsoever of Ieuan Fychan's Lancastrian sympathies. Information about the effect of the wars on the county is sparse and contemporary events are not always reflected in the judicial and financial records of an administrative machine that continued to operate whatever the political situation. Cheshire and the surrounding area seem for a time to have been under the personal control of queen Margaret, which must have strengthened the Lancastrian influence there.¹⁶⁵ In any case, Ieuan's family connections could hardly have made him anything but a Lancastrian; from 1456 onwards the leader of the party in Wales was Jasper Tudor, like Ieuan a great-grandson of Tudur ap Goronwy of Penmynydd. The Tudor connection with Pengwern had been important at the time of the revolt; now Mostyn was to be a centre of Lancastrian activity. After the Yorkist victory in 1461 and particularly after the final defeat and death of Henry VI in 1471 Jasper became the conspirator par excellence, working on behalf of his nephew Henry who had become the Lancastrian claimant to the throne. Although in exile

162. Ralph Griffiths, in W.H.R., II, 111 (1965), p. 231.

163. W. Garmon Jones, 'Welsh nationalism and Henry Tudor' in Trans. Cymm., 1917-8, pp. 4-7.

164. C. R. Williams, History of Flintshire, I, p. 138.

165. H. T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses (1915), pp. 90, 96.

in Brittany he paid frequent visits to Wales where, until 1468, Harlech castle provided his party with a foothold; many Lancastrian supporters also sheltered him and Mostyn seems to have been among the most important of his ports of call. The Flintshire chronicler Elis Gruffudd described one visit:¹⁶⁶

Yn yr amser y ffoes Jasbar ... y neb megis ac i klywais i vy hennaviaid yn dywedied a gymerth ysgraf i wr boneddig a oedd yn trigo yn Mostyn o vewn plwyf Chwitford yn sir y fflint ynnny man a elwir pwll pictun yn yr amser a gorvu ar yr iarll ddwyn baich o wellld pyse ar i gefyn wrth vyned ir ysgraf hrag ovon i neb i gannvod ef kannis nid oedd eissiau pobyl ynni esbio ef ar hyd y gwledydd ynn o neithyr y vo a ddiengis ir mor ynnyr sgraf hon ai harweddodd ef oddiynno i vryttain vechan yn vwy drwy gowreindeb yr iarll nog o gowreindeb llongwr picktun.

This escape followed the abortive rising of 1464 in Wales and the north of England, master-minded by Jasper and led in Wales by Roger Puleston and John Hammer and in England by the duke of Somerset.¹⁶⁷ Ieuan was still alive at this time and he must have been the gentleman who sheltered Jasper and arranged his escape. There may well be some truth in the story; Elis Gruffudd was, after all, a local man.

Two of Ieuan's sons, Ithel and Rhys, seem to have died during the civil wars. Two cywyddau to these sons, by Rhys Goch Glyndyfrdwy and Gruffydd Nannau, refer to their imprisonment.¹⁶⁸ There are various references in the poetry of the period to the imprisonment of patrons; this was inevitable in the political circumstances of the time. But there is a certain amount of circumstantial detail about these poems which calls for critical examination. According to the family history Ithel and Rhys were killed at the siege of Whittington in July, 1457; one manuscript states that they were imprisoned by Richard Trevor,

166. Quoted in H. T. Evans, Op. cit., p. 154n: 'When Jasper fled ... someone, as I heard my elders say, took a boat belonging to a gentleman who lived at Mostyn in the parish of Whitford in Flintshire in a place which is called Pwll Picton, when the earl had to carry a bundle of pease straw on his back when going to the boat in case someone should see him, for he did not want people to see him in that part of the country, and he escaped to the sea in this boat and guided it from there to Brittany, more by the skill of the earl than by the skill of the sailors of Picton.'

167. Ibid., pp. 151-4; E. F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century (1961), pp. 530-2.

168. N.L.W. Mostyn 146, pp. 498, 500. The poems are discussed by D. J. Bowen, 'Carcharu Ithel a Rhys ab Ieuan Fychan' in N.L.W. Journal VIII (1953) p. 119.

a member of one of the leading families in Chirkland and a kinsman, being descended from Dafydd ap Ednyfed Gam.¹⁶⁹ Another manuscript gives dates:¹⁷⁰

Ithel a Rys meib I. Vychan ap I. a aethant i gastell y Drewen ddw gwener gwyl Gadwaladr y XIIved dydd or gayaf ac a vwant yno hyd difie kyn awst O.K. 1457.

In other words they were imprisoned on 12 November, 1456, and remained in custody until 28 July, 1457 when, presumably, they were liquidated.¹⁷¹ Their imprisonment was the result of their support for Lancaster. These statements have been generally accepted but they cannot be received without question. There can be no doubt about the family's Lancastrian sympathies; indeed, they contributed a good deal more than sympathy to the cause. But no other reference can be found to any siege of Whittington in 1457 or, indeed, to any activity there during the wars. In his cywydd to Ieuan ap Einion of Cryniarth and Hendwr in Edeirnion Guto'r Glyn referred to disorder and lawlessness and to his patron being forced to flee for a time.¹⁷²

Bu ladrad heb lywodraeth
Bu drais, dros y byd yr aeth.
Ieuan oedd darian ei dir
Ac Ieuan a fu gywir.
Ieuan a ffoes yn y ffydd
A'i lu dof trwy alw Dafydd,
Y modd y ffoes llu Moesen
I'r ffrwd rhag gwŷr Pharo hen ...
... Aeth Ieuan i'r lan a'i lu
Aeth eraill i'w merthyru.

Like Ieuan Fychan, Ieuan ap Einion was a Lancastrian, and according to one manuscript the last line refers to the fate of Ithel and Rhys, these described as the brothers of Ieuan Fychan:¹⁷³

169. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 50, citing Powys Fadog, IV, p. 147; N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 296.

170. Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, p. 328, citing N.L.W. Peniarth 177, p. 199: 'Ithel and Rhys, the sons of Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan went to Whittington castle on Friday, the feast of Cadwaladr, the 12th day of winter and were there until Thursday before August, A.D. 1457.'

171. 12 November, 1456, did in fact fall on a Friday.

172. Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, pp. 41-2: 'There was robbery without government; there was violence throughout the world. Ieuan was the shield of his land, and Ieuan was right. Ieuan fled in the faith with his faithful host at God's call, as the host of Moses fled to the flood from old Pharaoh's men ... Ieuan and his host reached the shore; others went to their martyrdom.'

173. *Ibid.*, p. 323, citing N.L.W. Peniarth 152, p. 159: 'These others were the sons of Ieuan ap Adda, namely the brothers of Ieuan Fychan, and because of that verse Guto sang the cywydd 'Saint Christopher ...'



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Yr eraill hynny oedd feibion Ieuan ap Adda, sef brodyr Ieuan Fychan,
ac o achos y pennill hwnnw y canodd Guto y cywydd 'Sain Cristoffr ...'

The latter poem is, in fact, a cywydd cymod (a poem seeking reconciliation) to Ieuan Fychan. There seems to be no doubt, whatever this manuscript says, that Ithel and Rhys were Ieuan's sons, not his brothers; Gruffydd Nannau certainly described them as such:¹⁷⁴

Meibion ifan mawr ei obaith
Vychan y deuan or daith.

The poems themselves tend to make the issue more confused; although Rhys Goch Glyndyfrdwy appealed for their deliverance from Y Drewen or Whittington¹⁷⁵

Duw a ddwg i'n di ddigiaw
Dau unben o'r Drewen draw

Gruffydd Nannau suggested that the brothers were imprisoned in a castle near the sea:¹⁷⁶

Gwyddost lle mae'r ddau flaenor
Mewn castell ym machell mor

which cannot possibly be Whittington (unless, of course, the poet was referring to the moat which still surrounds the castle). Of course, the march was the centre of activity between the battle of St. Albans in 1455 and that of Elore Heath in 1459 and there must have been frequent skirmishes between local partisans of York and Lancaster during this period.¹⁷⁷ Richard Trevor, allegedly responsible for the brothers' imprisonment, was constable of Whittington in 1478 and his family seem to have been Yorkists, so the episode may have been the result of Chirkland rivalries.¹⁷⁸ The evidence available might suggest a Lancastrian attack on Whittington which was either intercepted

174. N.L.W. Mostyn 146, p. 501: 'The sons of Ifan Fychan, his great hope, came from the journey'.

175. N.L.W. Mostyn 146, p. 499: 'God be pleased to bring the two captains from Whittington to us'.

176. N.L.W. Mostyn 146, p. 501: 'You know where the two leaders are, in a castle in an arm of the sea'.

177. H. T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, p. 90.

178. N.L.W. Chirk Castle F 9878. Guto'r Glyn refers to Richard Trevor 'yn Groeswen' which may be Whittington (Gwaith, p. 47) and says of his brother Robert in his elegy:

Ar y modd yr âi, meddynt

I'r Dug o Iorc â'r da gynt (Gwaith, p. 51).

('In the way, they say, he once took the goods to the duke of York').

or beaten off, after which many of the participants escaped, but some were captured and eventually put to death.

Ieuan Fychan was not only the first member of the Pengwern family to whom poetry has survived; he was also a poet himself. Even in a craft as highly skilled and professional as that of the bard there was a place for the gentleman amateur and not every poet lived by his craft alone; Ieuan ap Rhydderch, for example, was a member of one of the leading families in Cardiganshire and may have attended one of the universities.¹⁷⁹ The authors of the family history suggest that Ieuan Fychan, too, had spent some time at Oxford or Cambridge, although there is no evidence at all to support the suggestion.¹⁸⁰ However, it cannot be dismissed out of hand; laymen, especially the sons of the nobility and gentry, attended the universities even then, either pursuing part of the formal courses or studying with independent masters who taught them the accomplishments needed to administer their own or their patrons' estates.¹⁸¹ Such studies were obviously as useful to landowners in Wales as to their counterparts in England. Two cywyddau and some englynion by Ieuan exist, making up an ymryson (best translated as a battle of wits) with Maredudd ap Rhys of Rhiwabon, a distant kinsman, a keen fisherman, and the bardic teacher of Dafydd ap Edmwnd.¹⁸² In the first poem Ieuan asked his kinsman John Eyton for the gift of a coracle;¹⁸³ the poem does not contain much information about him, being devoted largely to a description of the craft. It is, in fact, a typical example of the genre and in no way shows Ieuan as a poet of the standard of Guto'r Glyn or Dafydd Nanmor. John Eyton obviously did not share Ieuan's gift since he asked Maredudd ap Rhys to reply on his behalf;¹⁸⁴ in at least one manuscript this poem bears the heading 'Ateb i'r

179. Bywgraffiadur, p. 387; Iolo Goch ac Eraill, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii.

180. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 31; their picture of Ieuan Fychan is an attractive one but is not based on a great deal of solid fact.

181. J. R. Lander, Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-century England (1969), p. 143.

182. Bywgraffiadur, pp. 1059-60.

183. U.C.N.W. Gwynedd 3, p. 131b. For a brief discussion of the poems see R. Alun Charles, 'Teulu Mostyn fel noddwyr y beirdd' in Llên Cymru, IX, 1-ii (1966), pp. 75-8.

184. U.C.N.W. Gwynedd 3, p. 133a.

Cywydd fry lle y dyfelir y cwrwgl yn well o lawer' ('an answer to the above cywydd where the coracle is described far better') which, whether contemporary or not, may sum up the difference between the professional and the amateur.¹⁸⁵ Again there is no information to be gleaned from this poem nor from Ieuan's rejoinder.¹⁸⁶ Finally there is a series of englynion on the same theme, two by Ieuan, answered by two by Maredudd, answered in their turn by three by Ieuan.¹⁸⁷ In his cywydd Maredudd was less than complimentary about Ieuan's work:¹⁸⁸

Am gywydd di-ddeunydd da
I'm a ddanfoned yma

But these poems must be accepted for what they are, a jeu d'esprit between two cultivated gentlemen, one a professional poet and one a keen amateur. Mostyn and Glenn suggest that these poems were composed about 1432 although they offer no evidence in support; their comments on this poetry should be read with critical care.¹⁸⁹

Guto'r Glyn also sang to Ieuan Fychan; the purpose of this poem was to seek reconciliation although he gives no reason for any breach.¹⁹⁰ One manuscript adds to the title the comment 'he not being pleased with the former one' which may indicate that this was a second attempt;¹⁹¹ the suggestion that the poem may have had something to do with the death of Ieuan's sons Ithel and Rhys has already been discussed and the fact that Guto was a Yorkist may be relevant. He addressed Ieuan as 'Bengwern hydd' ('stag of Pengwern') and praised his bardic and musical gifts, describing him as a

185. Ibid.

186. N.L.W. Mostyn 48, p. 269.

187. R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., pp. 77-8.

188. 'For a cywydd of poor quality sent to me here'.

189. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 41. R. Alun Charles tends to rely on their biographical details.

190. Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, pp. 73-5.

191. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 41, citing N.L.W. Peniarth 89, p. 11.

master of both crafts:¹⁹²

Perchen tŷ fu i luoedd,
Pencerdd ar y ddwygerdd oedd.
Ieuan a gân yn gynnil,
Ac a wna maeth i gan mil.
Y clod i'w dafod a'i dŷ,
A'i delyn hwn a'i dyly.
Gruffydd ar gywydd yw'r gwr
Gryg hirddoeth, gorau cerddwr.
Llywarch Hen a'i awdl Wên dlos,
Llaw Ieuan yn lle eos.
Ni bu gerddwr o ŵr iach,
Ni bu Nudd yn beneiddiach.
Ni aned un awenydd
Well ar dant, es llawer dydd.
Os Ieuan a gân y gainc,
Llawen fydd y llu ieuainc.

Of course, the accuracy of this praise is an open question; Guto was seeking reconciliation with a proud and prominent man and one might expect the praise to be fulsome, whatever the poet's private opinion of the patron's talent. But, when all this has been said, Ieuan Fychan had achieved some mastery of the poetic art and his work has survived from an age in which the cywydd form reached the peak of perfection. The poet also praised his mother, who must have been still living, and his heir Hywel; he intended to ask them to intercede for him with Ieuan and turn away his wrath which was 'gunlike'. There is no mention in the poem of Ieuan's wife Angharad, which may suggest that she was dead by this time; Maredudd ap Rhys, however, did refer to her in his poem, which leads to the assumption that Guto's cywydd was composed after the ymryson between Ieuan and Maredudd. The family history suggests 1437-8 though once again there is no foundation for this supposition.¹⁹³ If it does stem from the death of Ieuan's sons, it would presumably date from 1457 and the fact

192. 'He kept open house for everyone, he was a master of the two arts. Ieuan sings subtly and gives hospitality to a hundred thousand. He deserves praise for his poetry and his house and as a harpist. He is the best of poets, a Gruffydd Gryg with a cywydd, a Llywarch Hen with his beautiful awdl to Gwên; Ieuan's art surpasses that of the nightingale. No better man was a poet, no Nudd was more noble. No better skill on the strings has been born for many a day. If Ieuan sings the song, the young people will rejoice.'

193. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 41.

that Ieuan's mother is mentioned but not his father may point to a date after 1448. One final point about this cywydd is that it referred to Ieuan's family connection with Owain Glyn Dwr:¹⁹⁴

Beth bynnag fo, Cymro cain,
Eniwed i nai Owain.

Although he obtained the Mostyn estate through his wife, Ieuan did not purchase much new land; indeed, only one deed, relating to property in Bagillt in 1444, has survived, although there is also a 1457 exchange of leasehold lands in Pengwern.¹⁹⁵ In 1465-6 it was stated in the account of decayed lands from Llangollen ringildry in the lordship of Chirk that Gafael Kellysse, formerly worth 15s. 4d., was now demised to Ieuan Fychan at an annual rent of 8s. 4d. and that the half-gafael of Iago in Bachau, formerly worth 8s. 8d., was now let to him at 3s. 4d.¹⁹⁶ Escheat land was not, apparently, very profitable in Chirkland at this time; the fifteenth century certainly seems to have been a period of economic decline in the lordship during which rents decayed and the lord's income and authority were weakened.¹⁹⁷ The tenantry were being pushed hard at the end of the fourteenth century and conditions may have been worse for many of them after the revolt.¹⁹⁸

Ieuan Fychan died early in 1477; on 2 March of that year the rural dean of Marchia granted the administration of his goods to his daughters Margaret and Alice.¹⁹⁹ On 11 March, 1475, he had been among the witnesses to a conveyance of lands in Gwernosbynt to his nephew John Edwards.²⁰⁰ According to Mostyn and Glenn he died some time between July, 1457, and March, 1458, perhaps as a result of the death of his sons;²⁰¹ they refer to a pedigree drawn up in 1663 which cites a lease by Ieuan's son Hywel dated 1457 or 1458 but this lease is

194. 'Whatever the injury was to the nephew of Owain, the noble Welshman'.

195. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2478; 1628 (iv).

196. P.R.O. D.L.29/634/10324.

197. 'The lordships of Chirk and Oswestry', pp. 411-5.

198. Ibid., p. 199.

199. N.L.W. Chirk Castle F 9876.

200. Extent of Chirkland, p. 93.

201. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 50.

not among the family papers. Subsequent commentators have followed the family history but Ieuan was undoubtedly alive after 1458.²⁰² By his marriage to Angharad he had four sons, Hywel, Elis, Ithel and Rhys, and two daughters, Margaret, who married Meurig ap Llywelyn ap Hwlcyn of Bodeon in Anglesey, and Alice, wife of Gwilym ap Morys Gethin of Garth Eryr in Mochnant.²⁰³ The fact that administration of his goods was granted to his daughters may suggest that his sons had all predeceased him.

Little is known of Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan. He married Margaret, the daughter and sole surviving heiress of Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith of Gloddaith in Creuddyn and Tregarnedd in Anglesey and thus the Gloddaith inheritance was absorbed by Mostyn. The family history is not always dependable when dealing with Hywel; it suggests that the marriage was celebrated in about 1458, thus disagreeing with the date of 1460 given in the 1663 pedigree.²⁰⁴ But Margaret's age was given as 29 in a document of 1480 and, even allowing for contemporary inaccuracy where ages were concerned, she would have been too young to marry in 1458 or 1460;²⁰⁵ moreover, she did not die until 1532. It is also suggested that Hywel died in 1468, perhaps as a result of the defeat of the Lancastrians under Jasper Tudor after the siege of Denbigh;²⁰⁶ he was undoubtedly still alive in September, 1469, when he witnessed a deed relating to land in Whitford Garn.²⁰⁷ His heir Richard was presumably his eldest son and when Margaret died he was described by the escheator as being 64 years old, which would mean that he was born about 1468.²⁰⁸ According to the pedigrees there were two other sons, obviously born after Richard. Hywel must, however, have been dead by 1479; a deed of that year refers to land abutting on that of Richard ap Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan.²⁰⁹ When his father-in-law Gruffydd ap Rhys

202. Bywgraffiadur, p. 388, for example, follows Mostyn & Glenn.

203. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 54-5.

204. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1.

205. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 775.

206. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 59; H. T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, p. 166.

207. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3027.

208. P.R.O. S.C.6/4948/Hen. VIII.

209. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3028.

died in 1480 Margaret's second husband, Henry Salusbury, did homage for his lands;²¹⁰ the possible significance of the grant of administration of Ieuan Fychan's goods to his daughters has already been suggested. It is therefore more than likely that Hywel did predecease his father and that Richard ap Hywel became master of Mostyn at the tender age of about nine. The two poems by Guto'r Glyn cited by Mostyn and Glenn as being addressed to Hywel were, in fact, along with a third, to Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan of Moeliwrch in Cynllaith.²¹¹ In July, 1467, the custodian of the king's gaol at Ilchester in Somerset was pardoned for the escape of sixteen prisoners committed to his custody on suspicion of felony and these prisoners included a Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan, but there is no proof of identification.²¹² Finally, Hywel had three sons, Richard, Ieuan, who may be the John ap Hywel whose will was proved in 1537, and Rhys, who was in holy orders.²¹³

With Richard ap Hywel the family moves into the sixteenth century. He is best remembered for two things, his support of Henry Tudor in 1485 and his patronage of the first Caerwys eisteddfod in 1523.²¹⁴ However, his significance in the history of the family lies in the fact that in him the lines of all the Five Courts met; he was, in fact, the first of the Mostyns, although it was his sons who first assumed the family surname. Like his grandfather he was completely committed to the Lancastrian cause (or rather, by this time, the cause of Henry Tudor) and Mostyn continued to be a centre of activity on his behalf. Henry is said to have paid occasional visits to Wales before 1485 and one story of a narrow escape from Richard III's men was handed down in the Mostyn family. Henry, so the story runs, had come over to Wales incognito to finalise the arrangements for his expedition. He stayed at Mostyn under the protection of the young Richard ap Hywel but the authorities,

210. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 775 (exemplification of Inquisition post-mortem of Gruffydd ap Rhys).

211. Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, pp. 109, 115, 118.

212. C.P.R. 1467-1477, pp. 39-40.

213. N.L.W. Thorne 130 (will of John ap Hywel); Mostyn & Glenn, p.66. Sir Rhys ap Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan was one of the trustees under the marriage settlement of Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel in 1517 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 91).

214. Bywgraffiadur, p. 633.

hearing that he was there, sent out a search party. He was about to dine when the party was seen approaching, but managed to escape through a window. When the troop entered the officer enquired about Henry but was told by Richard that he had left. The officer then commented on the fact that there were more places set at the table than there was company present, to which Richard replied that he always kept an extra place in case a friend should call and invited the officer to join them. The Mostyn family, always very conscious of its history, have continued the custom of setting an extra place, known as the "King's seat" down to the present day.²¹⁵ The story may be apocryphal but traditions and family lore were handed down in the family from father to son.

The final test of Richard's loyalties came in 1485; he and William Griffith of Penrhyn, along with their men, are said to have joined Henry near Welshpool on 13 August for the march to Bosworth. It was here, too, that Henry was joined by Rhys ap Thomas and by the Herberts from the south-east; the North Wales leaders are said to have brought droves of cattle with them for the commissariat.²¹⁶ Another account describes Richard as having headed a force of 1,600 Flintshire miners and colliers;²¹⁷ this is very difficult to accept since it is doubtful, to say the least, whether the county could have mustered that number of miners at that time, and it may be that the force raised by Richard has been confused with the force of 1,500, including many miners, said to have been raised by Sir Roger Mostyn, the first baronet, at the beginning of the Civil War.²¹⁸ There must also be considerable doubt about the presence of William Griffith of Penrhyn in Henry's army; the evidence suggests that he was at that time a prisoner in Nottingham.²¹⁹ But it has been generally accepted

215. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 206-7; for another version of the story see T. Pennant, The History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell (1796), pp. 57-8.

216. David Williams, A History of Modern Wales (1950), pp. 19-20.

217. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 74 n.2, citing H. Taylor, Historic Notices, with Topographical and other Gleanings descriptive of the Borough and County Town of Flint (1883), p. 102.

218. A. H. Dodd, 'Flintshire politics in the seventeenth century' in Jnl. Flints. Hist. Soc. XIV (1952-3), p. 34.

219. Bywgraffiadur, II, p. 97. He was related to the earl of Derby and seems to have been imprisoned with Derby's heir, Lord Strange, as a hostage in view of the earl's doubtful loyalty to Richard III.

that Richard ap Hywel fought at Bosworth; according to Thomas Pennant Henry presented him with his belt and sword after the battle as a token of his gratitude and tried to persuade him to follow him to court.²²⁰

But he nobly answered like the Shunamitish woman, "I dwell among mine own people."

Richard's reply is well-known and has often been quoted as an example of an uchelwr of the traditional type who felt that his place was on his own estates among his own kindred, as opposed to the Tudor gentry of popular tradition who flocked across the border in pursuit of their fortunes. But whether he uttered these words or not, they could almost be said to sum up the attitude of the Mostyns right down to the Civil War; although they held public office and sat in parliament from time to time, they remained on their estates. At the time of Bosworth Richard must have been about seventeen, which must have made him one of the youngest leaders on the field if he was present and his reply to the king's invitation suggests an old head on young shoulders; Henry's position was none too secure and, in any case, the seat of Richard's power and influence lay at Mostyn. For him there was really little to be gained from following the new king to court.

Richard's second claim to fame is the part he played in connection with the first Caerwys eisteddfod in 1523; he was one of the North Wales magnates under whose patronage it was held, along with Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn, chamberlain of North Wales, and Sir Roger Salusbury, steward of the lordship of Denbigh;²²¹ the former, incidentally, was the father-in-law of Richard's eldest son Thomas and the latter was his nephew. The two professional assessors were Tudur Aled and Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan; the latter was both bard and uchelwr and was also Richard's son-in-law, having married

220. T. Pennant, Tours in Wales (1810), I, p. 14.

221. The whole question of the Mostyns as patrons and their part in the two Caerwys eisteddfodau is examined in Chapter X of this study; for the general background see the various works cited there.

his daughter Sioned as his first wife.²²² Apart from his part in the eisteddfod, however, Richard ap Hywel held few offices and he does not seem to have received any material reward for his loyalty to Henry Tudor. He did not really need office; with extensive estates in Flintshire, Chirkland, Caernarvonshire, and Anglesey he could not but be influential. In Flintshire in particular he must have been one of the most important people in the county and his alleged reply to Henry VII may have been the expression of his awareness of this. Nevertheless, he did hold office occasionally; in 1502 he was one of the collectors of the subsidy in Whitford and he was under-sheriff in 1509 when John Maynwaryng, the sheriff, acknowledged the receipt of 10 marks as the fee for the office (the document actually refers to 'my same office' which may suggest that the shrievalty was being sub-let to him).²²³ He was still under-sheriff in 1523, the year of the Caerwys eisteddfod, this time to Ralph Brereton.²²⁴ Service as deputies to English officials was a common feature of the careers of Welsh gentlemen between the end of the revolt and 1536; the offices were often held by absentees and it was the deputies, drawn from the ranks of the local uchelwyr, who performed the duties and maintained their grip on the administration.²²⁵ In the principality the offices themselves were by now falling to the gentry but since Flintshire was ruled from Chester it is possible that the process took longer there. The office of justice of the peace, which was to symbolise the apotheosis of the Welsh gentry as far as local government was concerned, was introduced to the royal lands in Wales by an act of parliament in 1536, shortly before the first Act of Union;²²⁶ it is not known whether Richard ap Hywel's name appeared in the first Commission of the Peace for Flintshire but it would be surprising if it did not.

Although Mostyn was now the family seat and the bulk of the estate lay in

222. Bywgraffiadur, p. 298.

223. C.R.R. II, p. 788; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6623.

224. P.R.O. S.C.6/5105/Hen. VIII.

225. W. Ogwen Williams, Tudor Gwynedd (1958), p. 19.

226. I. Bowen, The Statutes of Wales (1908), pp. 47-9. See also W. Ogwen Williams, Op. cit., p. 24 and W. Rees 'The union of England and Wales' in Trans. Cymm., 1937, pp. 41-2.

Flintshire, it was to be many years before full possession of the royal manor of Mostyn was obtained.²²⁷ Ieuan Fychan had held it for long periods but the family's tenure was not uninterrupted; by 1483, however, it had been granted to Richard's stepfather, Henry Salusbury, at an annual rent of £10. 0s. 4d.²²⁸ He obtained further grants in 1484 and 1489;²²⁹ on 21 July, 1501, however, Mostyn was leased to Richard for fifteen years at an annual rent of 8 marks with £26. 0s. 8d. increment.²³⁰ He remained in possession for the rest of his life; the lease was renewed in 1519 and 1525 and from henceforth the Mostyns were to enjoy the farm almost without interruption until Mostyn passed finally into their possession.²³¹ The attraction of Mostyn, apart from its proximity to the centre of the estates, was probably the coal measures; profits from sea-coals were included in the grant of the township as early as 1410 when it was granted to Jenkyn ap Dafydd ap Iorwerth for four years at an annual rent of 20 marks and the first reference to a coal mine there is in 1295.²³² As the demand for coal increased, coal measures became more desirable and profitable and the income from the Mostyn pits was later to form a good proportion of the revenue of the estate.

Under Richard ap Hywel the expansion of the estate began again. He first appears in a deed in 1489 as a witness to a feoffment of lands in Flintshire by Richard Hanmer.²³³ He had purchased some lands in Creuddyn during his mother's lifetime and he bought land in Pengwern at least once, but the bulk

227. The descent of the manor and township of Mostyn is described in Appendix B. For the grants to Ieuan Fychan see n. 146 above; it was out of the possession of the family from 1457.

228. P.R.O. S.C.6/1201/2.

229. C.R.R. II, p. 554; the 1484 grant was for a year at a rent of £3. 6s. 8d. and that of 1489 for 20 years at 8 marks.

230. C.R.R. II, p. 555.

231. C.R.R. III, p. 151; N.L.W. Peniarth 405, p. 218. The first grant was for 7 years at an annual rent of £6. 13s. 4d. and 3s. 4d. increment; the second was for 21 years at £7 annually.

232. P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/7; N.L.W. Bettisfield 1489 (this is a copy of an extent of Mostyn taken on 27 July, 1295. The annual value of the mine was estimated at 5s.).

233. N.L.W. Bettisfield 418.

of his acquisitions were in Flintshire.²³⁴ Eleven deeds record transactions in the county, the earliest being in March, 1502, when he obtained three parcels in Whitford Garn and Trefednywain.²³⁵ Other lands were obtained in Whitford in 1502, 1503 and 1505, in Mostyn in 1521, and in Caerwys in 1505 and 1539;²³⁶ he also purchased a messuage in Cilcain in 1525.²³⁷ Many of these deeds give the exact location and bounds of the properties and these show that in many cases they adjoined lands already belonging to Richard, which suggests a process of rounding-off and consolidation rather than a dramatic initiative in new territory.²³⁸ From time to time he also exchanged lands; in 1521 he disposed of property in Cilcain in return for property in Mostyn Uwch Glan and Whitford.²³⁹ These transactions probably reflect a rationalisation of the structure of the estate analogous to early enclosures. The process of estate-building was not merely a matter of acquiring land; it also involved the consolidation of the existing estate and the filling of gaps by purchase and, if necessary, by exchange. The ambitious landowner was often ready to sacrifice outlying tenements to fill a gap nearer the centre. One of the Caerwys conveyances is particularly interesting; on 10 April, 1506, Dafydd ap Ithel ap Tudur and his brother John, free tenants of the borough, conveyed half a burgage there with the building on it to Richard ap Hywel.²⁴⁰ It was situated on the highway leading from the crossroads to Pont Ieuan ap Adda and it has been suggested that the building was intended as a town house for the Mostyns and that the eisteddfodau may have been held there.²⁴¹

234. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1628 (v), 1009, 1012; N.L.W. Thorne 144.

235. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3126.

236. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3031-3, 2818, 2011; C.R.R. III, p. 152.

237. Clwyd R.O. Mostyn of Talacre D/MT/119.

238. A good example is U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3033, a gift by Rhys ap Ieuan ap Madog, free tenant of Whitford Garn, of 6 parcels there, 5 of which abut to some degree on Richard's land, 5 August, 1505.

239. B.M. Additional Charters 7038; Clwyd R.O. D/MT/116; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2818 (all relating to an exchange with John ap Ithel ap Hywel); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3244 (exchange with Hugh ap Gruffydd ap Hywel).

240. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2011.

241. Enid Roberts, 'Eisteddfod Caerwys, 1567' in Trans. Denbs. Hist. Soc., 1967, pp. 30-1.

Richard ap Hywel married Katherine or Catrin Salusbury, the daughter of Thomas Salusbury of lleweni and thus the sister of his stepfather, which suggests that the marriage was part of a wider arrangement. By her he had, according to the family history, three sons, Thomas, Hugh (who died young), and Peter or Piers, and five daughters, Elin, wife of George Ravenscroft of Bretton, Janet or Sioned, who married Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan, Margaret, wife of Hywel ap Ieuan of Northop, Sioned, wife of Hugh Pennant of Bychton, and Dows or Dulcie, wife of Thomas Gruffydd Fychan of Pantyllongdy.²⁴² Piers ap Richard ap Hywel married Thomas Gruffydd Fychan's sister Elen, which again suggests an arrangement.²⁴³ Richard seems, on the evidence of surviving documents, to have been the first head of the family to have made arrangements for the devolution of the estate; on 18 May, 1526, he conveyed all his lands in Flintshire to feoffees to his own use during his lifetime and after his death to be conveyed to his son Thomas to be held by him and his heirs for ever 'after the tenure and law of England'.²⁴⁴ The conveyance excluded lands in Mostyn, in Y Faenol and Bodelwyddan in the commote of Rhuddlan, and in Dunys, Trelywelyn, Brynhedydd, Trecastell, and Gronant in the commote of Prestatyn; these were to be held by the feoffees after Richard's death to the use of his son Hugh. Hugh seems to have been dead by 1530 because on 20 June of that year Thomas confirmed his father's deed of gift to his brother Piers of the same lands.²⁴⁵ Thus the division of the inheritance was avoided, an entail on the Flintshire lands created, and the younger son provided for; Thomas renewed the entail in 1541 after he had inherited the estate.²⁴⁶ Piers made good use of his inheritance; indeed, he had been acquiring lands on his own account as early as 1524 and he was to be the founder of a landed family, the Mostyns of Talacre, and a prominent patron of the poets.²⁴⁷

242. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 79.

243. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

244. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3331.

245. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3270.

246. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3271.

247. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 191-5.

When one considers the later standing of the Mostyns as patrons and Richard's close connection with the 1523 eisteddfod, it is strange that no poetry addressed to him has survived. The only poem connected with his family is a cywydd by Gruffudd Hiraethog on behalf of his wife to her kinswoman Grace Thomas of Anglesey asking for the gift of some millstones.²⁴⁸ The silence of the poets is surprising, especially in view of the fame and munificence of Richard's mother and of his son and the size of the estate, but the fact remains that no poet praised him or asked him for a gift. Evidence of litigation is equally sparse; on 17 November, 1532, Richard and Cynwrig ap Ieuan of Marchwiel, gentleman, bound themselves in £40 to abide by the award of arbitrators which included Henry Salusbury, Richard's half-brother, and Thomas Gruffydd of Pantyllongdy in all suits and actions between them, but that is all.²⁴⁹ Finally the earliest surviving family marriage settlement comes from Richard's lifetime; on 6 May, 1517, articles of agreement were drawn up between him and Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn touching the intended marriage of Richard's son Thomas and Sir William's daughter Jane.²⁵⁰ The marriage was to take place before 15 August following and Richard was to settle lands of the annual value of 20 marks on his son. If Thomas died before consummating the marriage, another son would marry Jane and if she died, Sir William would provide another daughter. Richard undertook to create an entail on his lands (he did this in 1526) and Sir William undertook to pay him 100 marks, 40 at the marriage and the rest in three annual instalments of 20.

Richard ap Hywel died on 31 January, 1540.²⁵¹ His will, made on 16 October, 1538, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 20 May, 1540.²⁵² He left £5 for a priest to pray for the souls of himself and his wife in Whitford church, which shows that he was untroubled by the new religious

248. Cardiff Public Library, Cardiff MS. 84, p. 378.

249. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1937.

250. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 91; the family's marriage arrangements are discussed in Chapter IX of this study. The settlement is reproduced in full in Appendix E (1).

251. P.R.O. S.C.6/4695/Hen. VIII, m. 12b. (i.p.m. of Richard's Anglesey lands). Mostyn, Glenn, p. 70, and P.R.O. S.C.6/4959/Hen. VIII, m. 14b. (i.p.m. of Caerns. lands) both state that Richard died on 7 February, but since the Anglesey inquisition was taken on 3 February this must be incorrect.

252. Clwyd R.O. D/MT/618; it is printed in full in Mostyn, Glenn, pp. 70-3.

ideas now coming in. He left 6s. 8d. each to the friars of Denbigh, Rhuddlan and Bangor; these houses had already been dissolved by the time he made his will but the news could not have reached him.²⁵³ Thomas was to have the Mostyn lease, Elis ap Hywel (if he was a brother he does not appear in any pedigree) 40s. and the rest of his goods were to go to Piers, who was also sole executor. No inquisition post mortem of the Flintshire or Denbighshire lands has survived but that for Anglesey was taken at Beaumaris on 3 February and that for Caernarvonshire at Caernarvon on 4 March. In Anglesey he held a messuage called Y Plas, 3 messuages, half a watermill, a fish-weir and 95 acres in Trecastell, a messuage called Y Plas, 3 messuages and 311 acres in Tregarnedd, a messuage and garden in Newborough, 8 messuages and 117 acres in Nantbychan, a messuage and 122 acres in Crymlyn, a messuage and 11 acres in Pentraeth, and 2 messuages and 244 acres in Tregwehelyth.²⁵⁴ The total annual value was returned as £20. 5s. 2d. and the total acreage was the convenient round figure of 900. Richard held of the king in chief by military service at his own cost within Wales and the marches and at the king's cost outside it; this was the Wyrion Eden tenure which really only applied to Trecastell and Tregarnedd. His heir was his son Thomas, at that time 44 years old, who paid a relief of 100 shillings. In Caernarvonshire he held a messuage and 191 acres in Gloddaith of the king and 4 tenements and 34 acres in Cyngreawdr and Rhiwledin and a garden in Bangor of the bishop and chapter of Bangor; the whole was valued at £18. 13s. annually.²⁵⁵ The figures quoted in these inquisitions are, of course, notoriously inaccurate and estates were almost invariably undervalued. The Anglesey estate was valued at £200 in about 1600 and in 1618 the total acreage was 1,390;²⁵⁶ there had been very few purchases of land in the county since 1540 so these figures relate to what was, in effect, the same estate. The Caernarvonshire figure was even more of an underestimate; the Gloddaith demesne

253. Glyn Roberts, 'The Dominican friary of Bangor' in Aspects of Welsh History, p. 235.

254. P.R.O. S.C.6/4695/Hen. VIII, m. 12b.

255. P.R.O. S.C.6/4959/Hen. VIII, mm. 14b-15a.

256. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5484; 6478.

alone amounted to 494 acres.²⁵⁷ Undervaluation was probably inevitable when the fine due from the heir for livery depended on the findings of the inquisition.²⁵⁸ But, whatever the shortcomings of these figures they do show that Richard ap Hywel had a respectable estate in Anglesey, quite apart from his Flintshire and Denbighshire lands.

With the death of Richard ap Hywel and the succession of Thomas the family crosses the threshold of the modern age. The Five Courts were united in the person of Richard and his sons were to be the first to adopt the surname of Mostyn from their chief residence. Now the family was to take an active part in public affairs, to serve as sheriffs, justices, and deputy-lieutenants, and to sit from time to time in parliament. A new day had dawned for the Welsh gentry in 1536 when the seal was set on their control of local government. The death of Richard ap Hywel marks, as far as the Mostyn family was concerned, the end of the middle ages; the man who had helped to bring the Tudors into their inheritance was succeeded by the beneficiaries of their policies. Now the Mostyns were to come into their own, but the foundations had been laid by men like Ieuan Fychan and Richard ap Hywel as well as by Tudur ap Ithel Fychan, whose career will be discussed in the next chapter. And where they had been most successful and built most securely for the future had been in their choice of wives; for the descendants of Ednyfed Gam marriage had been the great provider.

257. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486.

258. H. E. Bell, An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards and Liveries (1953), p. 75.

(b). Trecastell

The second of the Five Courts was Trecastell in the commote of Dindaethwy in Anglesey, with which was associated Tregwehelyth in Llifon in the same county. Trecastell was one of the townships granted by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth to Ednyfed Fychan, his seneschal, to be held by suit of court and military service.²⁵⁹ When Ednyfed died it was inherited by his son and successor Goronwy, who died in 1268; he was followed by his son Tudur, who died in 1311, and then by his grandson Goronwy who died in 1331. Goronwy had three sons, Gruffydd, Tudur and Hywel; Gruffydd died in 1344 and Hywel was a cleric, later archdeacon of Anglesey. Tudur and Hywel, like other members of their family, were prominent members of the Welsh official class. They were both deeply implicated in the assassination of Henry de Shaldeford in 1345; indeed, they were among the ringleaders, since the unfortunate attorney met his death at the hands of a band led by Tudur outside the house of Hywel.²⁶⁰ They were included in a contemporary list of wanted men and Hywel was eventually arrested in Chester and imprisoned briefly in Launceston castle in Cornwall.²⁶¹ However, there were no serious repercussions and the brothers attended the Quo Warranto proceedings of 1348 where they claimed the right to hold a court every three weeks, the assise of bread and ale and freedom from relief, heriot and amobr in their lands; the claim was by prescription.²⁶² According to the extent of 1352 Hywel and Tudur held Trecastell and half the township of Penmynydd; they also held Erddreiniog jointly with their second cousin Rhys ap Dafydd.²⁶³ They held by a tenure described as 'of the nature of Wyrion Eden' which involved suit to the county and hundred courts, the attendance of their bondmen at the sheriff's tourn twice yearly and military service by one

259. Glyn Roberts, 'Wyrion Eden' in Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 181-4. The following section is based to a large extent on Professor Roberts' work; see also 'Teulu Penmynydd' in *ibid.*, pp. 240-73.

260. Cal. Anc. Corr., pp. 231-3; Glyn Roberts, Op. cit., pp. 194-7; D. L. Evans, 'Some notes on the principality of Wales in the time of the Black Prince' in Trans. Cymm., 1925-6, pp. 43-5.

261. Cal. Anc. Corr., p. 228; Glyn Roberts, Op. cit., pp. 194-5.

262. Record of Caernarvon, pp. 150-1.

263. A. D. Carr, 'The extent of Anglesey, 1352', in Trans. A.A.S., 1971-2, pp. 235, 245.

member of the kindred who had to go with the prince's army when required, at his own expense within Wales and at the prince's outside.

This was probably the most influential family in North Wales during the fourteenth century; ~~it was~~ a descendant of Tudur ap Goronwy, moreover, who was to ascend the English throne in 1485. The Tudors were connected by marriage with most of the leading families of the principality and they were deeply involved in most of the events of the period. Hywel died in 1366 and Tudur in 1367; by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas ap Llywelyn ap Owain of Is Coed in Cardiganshire (and aunt of Owain Glyn Dŵr), Tudur had five sons, Goronwy, Ednyfed, Rhys, Gwilym and Maredudd. His praises were sung several times by Gruffydd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd, who could almost be described as the family poet; and his death was mourned by Iolo Goch.²⁶⁴ According to Iolo, Trece Castell seems to have been Tudur's home since he describes him as 'carw Tre'r Castell' ('the stag of Trece Castell'). Hywel's share of the inheritance had passed to ^{Tudur} ~~him~~ on ^{Hywel's} ~~the former's~~ death and ^{Tudur in turn died in 1367} ~~when he died a year later~~ the estate was divided among his sons; in a later poem Iolo Goch warns them of an intended visit to Anglesey and locates four of them, Goronwy, the eldest, at Penmynydd, Rhys at Erddreiniog, Gwilym at Clorach in Twrcelyn and Ednyfed at Trece Castell.²⁶⁵

Er a ddêl o aur ddolef
Ei olud oll o'i wlad ef
Nid pell Tre'r Castell, cell ced,
Tud nefawl tai Ednyfed.
Ei fenestr byddaf yno,
A'i faer fyth - fy aur yw fo.
Ef a gaf heb ofwy gwell
Cystal ag yn Nhref'r Castell.

Thus Trece Castell was Ednyfed's share. He died in 1382, around the same time as his brother Goronwy, though whether in the same circumstances is not known; Goronwy was drowned in Kent a few days after his appointment as constable of

264. *Myvyrian Archaeology*, pp. 293, 294, 295, 297; *Iolo Goch ac Eraill*, p. 12.

265. *Iolo Goch ac Eraill*, p. 17; this passage does not lend itself to literal translation but the sense of it is 'Although he has much gold, all the wealth of his land, Trece Castell, the cell of bounty, the heavenly kingdom of the houses of Ednyfed is not far away. I shall be his window there, and his bailiff - he is my gold. I shall not have a better visit than in Trece Castell.'

Beumaris castle.²⁶⁶ Iolo Goch sang the elegy of the two brothers and Goronwy was also lamented by Risierdyn, Gruffydd ap Maredudd, and Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen.²⁶⁷ Ednyfed married Gwenllian, the daughter of Dafydd ap Bleddyn Fychan, a kinsman of the Mostyn family (although his second wife seems to have been one 'Marvted' who subsequently married John Hammond) and he had at least two daughters, Angharad, who married Ieuan ap Adda of Pengwern, the nephew of Goronwy's wife Myfanwy, and Myfanwy, who married Rhys ap Cynwrig ap Roppert of Llanewrgain in Flintshire, a kinsman, through his mother, of Ieuan ap Adda and deeply implicated in the Glyn Dwr revolt.²⁶⁸ Trecastell and Tregwehelyth were Angharad's share of the inheritance and they passed eventually to her son Ieuan Fychan.

Tregwehelyth or Bodlew did not form part of the ancestral lands of Wyrion Eden. In 1352 the township was held by three free gwelyau, the eponyms of which were the sons of one Owain;²⁶⁹ lands there had earlier been acquired by Gruffydd Gryg and his brother Cynwrig Fychan.²⁷⁰ The heir of Gwely Philip ap Owain was Hywel ap Madog ap Llywelyn, probably the son of the rebel leader of 1294-5 who had held lands in Anglesey; he had conveyed his lands by prid to Robert de Hambury, the former chamberlain of North Wales. In 1355 Hambury conveyed the lands in Tregwehelyth which he had from Hywel ap Madog and Cynwrig ap Gruffydd, possibly the father of Gruffydd Gryg, to Hywel ap Goronwy and in 1359 Hywel made fine of 20 marks for obtaining these lands from Hambury who had in turn got them from Hywel ap Madog without licence.²⁷¹ When Hywel ap Goronwy died in 1366 his lands passed to his brother Tudur and when he died a year later the Tregwehelyth property must have formed part of Ednyfed's share of the inheritance.

In 1540 the escheater also accounted for lands which Richard ap Hywel had

266. Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 200-1.

267. Ibid., pp. 199-201; Iolo Goch ac Eraill, p. 18.

268. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 191; Glyn Roberts, Op. cit., p. 210; R. R. Davies, Trans. Cymm., 1968, p. 163.

269. A. D. Carr, Op. cit., p. 184.

270. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 746; N.L.W. Thorne 292, 293.

271. N.L.W. Thorne 265, 303.

held in the township of Crymlyn in Dindaethwy. This was not part of the Gloddaith estate and there is no evidence in surviving deeds that it was acquired by Richard; it must therefore be assumed that it formed part of the Trecastell inheritance. This property was later known as Cefn-coch from the adjacent hamlet of that name. According to the 1540 inquisition the Trecastell property amounted to 95 acres, worth £5. 8s. annually; Crymlyn comprised 122 acres worth 7s. 2d. and Tregwehelyth 244 acres worth £3. 6s. 8d.²⁷² The survey of 1618 furnishes more realistic figures; according to it the total acreage of Trecastell was 188 acres 60 perches, that of Cefn-coch 171 acres 72 perches and that of Tregwehelyth about 295 acres;²⁷³ the total annual value of these lands was £161. 13s. 4d. Thus the inheritance which Angharad ferch Ednyfed brought to her husband was far from contemptible and it was to form a useful part of the Mostyn possessions. And the Trecastell marriage connected the rising family of Pengwern with the Tudors for the second time and strengthened the network of kindred links and obligations which made the uchelwyr of North Wales a conscious class.

272. P.R.O. S.C.6/4695/Hen. VIII, m. 12b.

273. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478, 5486.

CHAPTER TWO

MOSTYN

MOSTYN

Although the direct male line of descent of the Mostyns was from Tudur Trefor and the Pengwern family, it was at Mostyn in Tegeingl, the seat of the third court, that they finally settled and it was from there that they took their name. The name is in fact the Welsh form of the English 'Moston'; as with so many of the place-names of eastern Flintshire, the Welsh reconquest of the area in the twelfth century led to a change in pronunciation. The Cheshire Domesday describes Moston as a township in the hundred of Atiscross where there was land for one plough, four villeins and eight bordars;¹ no Welsh tenants are named in the survey, either in 1086 nor 1066. When the area had come into the possession of Hugh of Avranches, earl of Chester, it had been waste, probably as a result of the activities of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn before 1063. Englefield or Tegeingl was always a debatable land and one geographer has described it as an état tampon, a buffer zone between Welsh and English, which to some degree it still is;² the traveller today crosses the border before leaving the suburbs of Chester. It had probably been occupied by the Mercians in the eighth century, during the reign of Offa, and it was Owain Gwynedd who was probably responsible for its reconquest.³ It is not known for certain when this came about; Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was bishop of St. Asaph between 1152 and 1155, was never able to visit his see but, on the other hand, Tegeingl was back in English hands between 1157 and 1164.⁴ However, Owain's defeat of Madog ap Maredudd at Coleshill in 1150 meant that the future of the cantref would lie with Gwynedd rather than with Powys. Welsh settlement of the area now went ahead and English place-names soon took on the Welsh forms they retain to this day, but whether the English population was expelled or absorbed

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1. James Tait, 'Flintshire in Domesday Book' in Flints. Hist. Soc. Publications XI (1925), p. 29; see also H. C. Darby, I. S. Maxwell, The Domesday Geography of Northern England (1962), pp. 383-90 for the general picture.
 2. G. R. J. Jones, 'The military geography of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1949), p. 70.
 3. Lloyd, Hist. Wales, I, p. 242.
 4. Ibid., II, pp. 494, 499-500.

is another question; if the names in the subsidy roll of 1292 are an accurate guide, only 8 per cent of the population of Coleshill and Prestatyn commotes and one per cent of the population of Rhuddlan commote were of English stock.⁵ On Owain's death in 1170 Tegeingl was among the lands inherited by his son Dafydd, whose seat was, in fact, at Rhuddlan;⁶ it now formed part of the Perfeddwlad, the four cantrefis of Gwynedd Is Conwy which changed hands at regular intervals during the next century. Indeed, possession of this territory was an indicator of the relative power of the prince of Gwynedd and the king of England at any given time.⁷ But these changes were only in political control; the Welsh resettlement of the twelfth century was to be permanent. Just how thorough it was is shown by the charter granted by Henry III to the men of Englefield in 1242;⁸ this followed the cession of the cantref to the king by Dafydd ap Llywelyn under the terms of the treaty of Gwern Eigrion made the previous year.⁹ The charter granted that they should be quit of merchet (amobr), the fine for marrying their daughters, and of all the food rents and works which they had rendered to Llywelyn and Dafydd and their men. They were to be subject to the king's court of Englefield 'according to the Welsh law and custom.' For their privileges they were to pay an annual sum of £50 and they had to find and maintain 24 serjeants to keep the peace. The bondmen of each township owed the king three days' mowing each autumn as they had owed them to Llywelyn and Dafydd. The charter shows that Tegeingl had become completely Welsh in law and custom and these privileges were not forgotten; the local community can be found protesting against infringements several times during the next two centuries. It was, moreover, the authority under which courts were held in Flintshire, even after 1284, and it was

5. G. R. J. Jones, *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

6. C. R. Williams, *History of Flintshire*, I, p. 71.

7. For details of the various changes in sovereignty see C. R. Williams, *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-87, also A. J. Roderick, 'The Four Cantreds, a study in administration' in *B.B.C.S. X* (1939-41), p. 24.

8. *C. Chart. R. I*, pp. 274-5.

9. J. G. Edwards, (ed), *Littere Wallie*, p. 9.

enrolled on the Chester recognisance rolls as late as 1352.¹⁰

It is against this background that the emergence of the Mostyn family must be examined. They claimed descent from Uchdryd ap Edwin, one of the lesser figures of twelfth-century Welsh history. Edwin of Tegeingl, who is said to have died in 1073, was a great-great-grandson of Hywel Dda and consequently a distant kinsman of the royal house of Gwynedd;¹¹ the connection was strengthened by two marriages, his grand-daughter Angharad being the wife of Gruffydd ap Cynan and his great-grand-daughter Cristin being the second wife of Owain Gwynedd.¹² He obtained lands in Tegeingl, possibly as a vassal of the English crown or of earl Edwin of Mercia, and in 1066 he had held four manors at Hope, Aston, Northop and Coleshill;¹³ he was described in the Domesday survey as 'Edwin the thegn'. He had at least two sons, Owain and Uchdryd;¹⁴ they both aided earl Hugh of Chester in his 1098 campaign against Gwynedd, and Uchdryd was granted Meirionnydd and Cyfeiliog by Cadwgan ap Bleddyn of Powys on condition that 'he should be a true, inseparable friend to him and his sons and a helper against all opposition that might come upon them'.¹⁵ This may be the first example in Welsh history of a grant on such terms. He and Cadwgan were cousins but Uchdryd was far from being a loyal vassal and in 1116 he began building a castle at Cymer near Dolgellau. As a result he was attacked by Einion ap Cadwgan and Gruffydd ap Maredudd ap Bleddyn and driven out and his castle was destroyed.¹⁶ He seems to have ended his days in Dyffryn Clwyd which was ruled by his nephews, the sons of Owain ap Edwin who had died in 1105. They had been defeated by Hywel ap Ithel of Rhos and Rhufoniog in 1118 at the battle of Maes Maen Cymro; but Hywel died of his wounds soon after and his lands were seized by the sons of Gruffydd ap Cynan.¹⁷ This was the period

10. R. Stewart-Brown, The Serjeants of the Peace in Medieval England and Wales (1936), pp. 33-4.

11. Bywgraffiadur, p. 1049.

12. A. J. Roderick, 'Marriage and politics in Wales, 1066-1282' in W.H.R. IV, i (1968), pp. 12-3.

13. James Tait, Op. cit., p. 17.

14. Bywgraffiadur, p. 1049; Lloyd, Hist. Wales, II, p. 408.

15. Brut y Tywysogyon (Peniarth 20 version), p. 46.

16. Lloyd, Hist. Wales, II, p. 466.

17. Ibid.

when Gwynedd and Powys were competing for supremacy in north-east Wales and no buffer zone could be safe for long. The end for the sons of Owain ap Edwin came in 1124 when the three rulers of Dyffryn Clwyd were killed by Cadwallon ap Gruffydd ap Cyman and their lands annexed to Gwynedd.¹⁸

Nevertheless, the family survived and many of the leading families of Flintshire were subsequently to claim descent from Edwin of Tegeingl.¹⁹ According to Dwnn, Uchdryd was the head of the seventh of the Fifteen Noble Tribes of Gwynedd, that fruit of the mania of the sixteenth-century herald bards for classification, but he is not generally included and his father Edwin is usually credited with the twelfth tribe.²⁰ Uchdryd had a son called Maredudd, who was followed by three successive Ithels, namely Ithel Gam, Ithel Llwyd, who married Margaret, daughter of Hwfa ap Iorwerth, and Ithel Fychan. Ithel Llwyd had another son, Bleddyn, who in turn had three, Ithel Anwyl, Bleddyn Fychan and Dafydd, bishop of St. Asaph from 1314 to 1346.²¹ But it is with Ithel Fychan that the family emerges into daylight and he seems to have been responsible for the start of their rise to wealth and influence in Flintshire; he, too, was their representative at the time of the Edwardian conquest and settlement. The treaty of Gwern Eigron had meant the cession of Tegeingl to Henry III and the fortunes of the house of Gwynedd reached their nadir in the treaty of Woodstock of 1247 which reduced the two young princes Owain and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd to the status of ordinary tenants-in-chief. The Four Cantrefs, along with the other royal lands in Wales, were granted in 1254 to the king's son Edward as part of his appanage and an attempt was made

18. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

19. It has been suggested that this Edwin was not the grandson of Einion ap Owain ap Hywel Dda; Einion also had a son of that name (Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, II, p. 767). T. A. Glenn suggested that he was of Saxon descent and speculated about a connection with Llys Edwin in Northop. (T. A. Glenn, The Family of Griffith of Garn and Plas Newydd in the County of Denbigh (1934), pp. 1-19).

20. Dwnn, II, p. 83.

21. Powys Fadog, IV, p. 154; T. A. Glenn, 'Ithel Fychan of Halkyn and some of his descendants' in Arch. Camb., 1922, p. 145; Bywgraffiadur, p. 85. See Appendix A to this study for genealogical tables.

by his officials, chief among whom was Geoffrey de Langley, to introduce shire government there.²² But the royal house of Gwynedd was making a rapid recovery from the humiliation of Woodstock; in 1255 Llywelyn ap Gruffydd gained undisputed control of Gwynedd and the stage was set for his retrieval of his grandfather's position. In 1256 the Welsh of the Four Cantrefs, finding the rule of Geoffrey de Langley oppressive, revolted and sought the aid of Llywelyn; within a week the whole territory, apart from the castles of Diserth and Degannwy, was in his hands.²³ Henry III was in no position to retaliate and Llywelyn remained in control; his possession was confirmed in 1267 by the treaty of Montgomery.²⁴

When war broke out again in 1276 as a result of the crisis in Llywelyn's relations with the English crown, the Four Cantrefs were inevitably among the first casualties and the treaty of Aberconway set the seal on their reconquest.²⁵ Tegeingl was now placed under the rule of the justice of Chester, as the whole area had been between 1241 and 1254. But life under English rule was not always easy. The men of Tegeingl had a number of grievances which they submitted to Archbishop Peckham in 1282 during his attempt to mediate.²⁶ They had done homage to Edward and he had promised to respect the rights, liberties, and privileges which they had enjoyed under Henry III, but these were now being infringed. Some were being compelled to proceed by English law in cases where Welsh law should have been used and the behaviour of the justice, Reginald de Grey, was particularly resented. Tension was rising in the Four Cantrefs and Llywelyn's brother Dafydd, who had obtained the cantrefs of Rhufoniog and Dyffryn Clwyd out of the wreckage of his brother's principality, was able to harness the general discontent.²⁷ On Palm Sunday, 1282, the Welsh outside

22. Lloyd, Hist. Wales, II, p. 714.

23. Ibid., p. 717.

24. Littere Wallie, p. 5.

25. Ibid., p. 119.

26. Reg. Peckham, II, p. 460.

27. The atmosphere in the Four Cantrefs is described by F. M. Powicke in The Thirteenth Century (1953), pp. 414-7.

Gwynedd revolted. Simultaneous attacks on Hawarden, Oswestry, and Aberystwyth suggest that the rising had been carefully planned. Tegeingl was deeply involved; over 60 cases on the first surviving Flintshire plea roll relate to the war, and English inhabitants were thoroughly and systematically plundered.²⁸ Even the new borough of Flint was sacked by the rebels.²⁹ Order was soon restored by Edward himself and the Statute of Wales promulgated at Rhuddlan in March, 1284, laid down the future administrative arrangements for Tegeingl.³⁰ Along with Maelor Saesneg, Hopedale, and the town of Rhuddlan, the cantref became part of the new county of Flint, dependent on the justice and exchequer of Chester; this was probably a reversion to the situation before 1254 and it meant that the trappings of royal administration were neither new nor unfamiliar. The county was not a part of the principality; subject to the justice of Chester, it was an extension of that earldom and was to form part of the lands of the king's eldest son, not in his capacity as prince of Wales but as earl of Chester. One result of rule from Chester was that the judicial records of the county were kept there, which explains why for Flintshire alone, of all the Welsh counties, so rich a series of plea rolls and cognate records has survived.

Nothing is known of the part played by Ithel Fychan in the events of 1282 though, as one of the more prominent Welshmen in the area, he might well have been a participant. He appears in the records for the first time as a contributor to the subsidy requested by Edward I from Wales in 1291; this was the fifteenth on moveables granted to the king by parliament in 1290 to meet the expenses incurred by him in negotiating the release of Charles of Salerno.³¹ Ithel Fychan paid 21s. 2½d. in Halkyn and a total of 7s. 7d. in Leadbrook Fawr, Bryngwyn, and Keully Wayn (possibly Gelli in Whitford);³² his

28. This is discussed by J. G. Edwards in the introduction to Flint Pleas. 1283-5 (Flints. Hist. Soc. Publications, VIII, 1921), pp. viii-xx.

29. C. R. Williams, History of Flintshire, I, p. 86.

30. Ivor Bowen, The Statutes of Wales (1908), p. 3.

31. F. M. Powicke, Op. cit., p. 443.

32. P.R.O. E179/242/52

nephew Ithel ap Bleddyn paid 19s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in Halkyn which suggests that this was then the centre of the family's possessions. These figures indicate that Ithel was fairly prosperous; although the subsidy was, in theory, a tax on all personal property with certain specific exceptions, it was in practice only levied on livestock and crops.³³ Ithel's stock, therefore, was worth not far off £20; no detailed commotal assessments for Flintshire have survived but in the commote of Afloegion in Llŷn a cow was valued at 3s. 4d., an ox at 5s. and a horse at 5s. for the same subsidy.³⁴ Even so, he was far from being the wealthiest man in the country; he could not compete with Iorwerth Sais or with Cynwrig Sais, who owed £4. 18s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for property in eight townships, the bulk of it being in Northop.³⁵ This Cynwrig Sais must not be confused with Ithel's son of that name, nor with another Cynwrig Sais who, in 1277, was appointed guardian of the lordship of Mold on behalf of the young lord.³⁶ He, and later his widow, were several times involved in litigation with Ithel. The total sum due from Flintshire was £464. 10s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. of which £118. 10s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. was uncollected, probably because of the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn.³⁷

In 1301 the royal lands in Wales were granted by Edward I to his son Edward of Caernarvon as prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and the new prince immediately set out for Wales to receive the homage and fealty of his leading subjects. Ithel Fychan of Englefield did fealty at Flint on 22 April.³⁸ From time to time he appeared at the Flintshire sessions as a juror or as a surety and on two occasions he was himself involved in litigation, both times in

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33. J. F. Willard, Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property (1934), pp. 73-4. The goods exempted were the armour, horses, jewels, plate, and clothes of knights, gentlemen and their wives.
34. T. Jones Pierce 'A Lleylŷn lay subsidy account' in B.B.C.S. V (1929-31), p. 57.
35. P.R.O. E 179/242/52. When Cynwrig died in 1311 he held 42 properties in 24 townships and his personal property included £120 in cash, a book, and a chessboard and chessmen. (P.R.O. Chester 30/5, m. 136; C. R. Williams, History of Flintshire, I, p. 99).
36. C. R. Williams, Op. cit., p. 82.
37. Willard, Op. cit., p. 27 & n.
38. C.P.R. 1343-1345, p. 229.

connection with the affairs of Cynwrig Sais.³⁹ Cynwrig and Ithel were probably related; according to some pedigrees Maredudd ^{Uchdryd} ~~ab Edwin~~ ^{Edwin} ~~ab Owain~~ had two sons, Goronwy of Trefrydd and Ithel Gam, and Cynwrig was Goronwy's son.⁴⁰ The first action was brought by Cynwrig against Ithel and Robert Goch as his wife's executors and the first hearing was at Flint on 21 September, 1304.⁴¹ His plea was that they had proceeded against him in an ecclesiastical court in an action concerning a lay fee and had ignored a writ of prohibition.⁴² The second case was a plea of novel disseisin brought on 12 April, 1311, against Ithel by Owain Sais of Northop, Cynwrig's grandson;⁴³ it related to properties in Northop, Kelsterton, Leadbrook Fawr and Fechan, Caerfallwch, and Wolfington. The plaintiff failed to appear but at the next sessions, held on 9 August, Ithel Fychan ~~ab~~ Ithel Fychan ~~ab~~ Ithel Gam of Halkyn acknowledged that he owed Isabella, the widow of Cynwrig Sais of Northop, the sum of £1,000 in silver due at the next feast of the Assumption (15 August).⁴⁴ Isabella owed Ithel £4 in silver. These actions were probably concerned with the settlement of Cynwrig's estate; a good deal of litigation between the two families was yet to come.

A number of deeds show Ithel Fychan as a purchaser of land although his

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39. For examples of jury service see P.R.O. Chester 30/2, m. 19b (11 February, 1303), and P.R.O. Chester 30/4, m. 4a (4 December, 1309); the latter case involved a charge of murder against a Welsh burgess of Flint in which the mayor and the commonalty of the borough demanded the rights granted to them in their charter. If this meant that they demanded a jury of burgesses, it would suggest that Ithel was himself a burgess. For appearances as a surety see P.R.O. Chester 30/5, mm. 2b, 4b (23 November, 1310); on the latter occasion he was a surety for his nephew Dafydd ap Bleddyn, later bishop of St. Asaph.
40. N.L.W. Peniarth 127, pp. 129-30. The pedigrees, however, seem to confuse this Cynwrig Sais with Ithel's son and credit him with three sons, Ithel, Dafydd, and Gregory Sais; these seem, in fact, to have been the sons of Cynwrig Sais ~~ab~~ Ithel Fychan.
41. P.R.O. Chester 30/3, m. 9b. Robert Goch was farming the avowry in Englefield in 1302-3 (F.M.A. 1301-28, p. 29).
42. The action had been heard on 9 June, 1299, at Caerwys before Master Benet, the bishop's commissary, and appears to have been concerned with the right of a wife to bequeath her share of tenements held in tir pryd; the jury at the sessions found that she was entitled to do so. Ithel and Robert's defence was that the writ of prohibition was not included in the register of writs provided in the Statute of Wales.
43. P.R.O. Chester 30/5, m. 14b.
44. Ibid.

purchases were on nothing like the scale of those of his son Tudur. Eight deeds relate to acquisitions in Rhyl, Bagillt, Llys-y-coed, Halkyn, and Llystyn-hunydd between 1296 and 1309.⁴⁵ Not all of them give financial details but they show that Ithel spent more than £10. 9s. 8d. during this period. The only large-scale transaction was the buying out of the four sons of Iorwerth Rwth in Bagillt between 1306 and 1308, on which he spent more than £3. 8s. 10d.⁴⁶ One, or possibly two of these eight conveyances were in tir prid. These purchases do indicate that Ithel was buying land outside the nucleus of his possessions in Halkyn; in this most of his sons were to follow his example.

There is no conclusive evidence of Ithel having held any office in Tegeingl. An Ithel Fychan was farming the raglotry of Englefield with Bleddyn ap Cynwrig in 1320 at £78 annually but this may have been his son Ithel Person who was also known as Ithel Fychan and who was farming the same office in 1326-7 at £85.⁴⁷ The last definite reference to him is in 1317 when he leased land at Nant Brynford from Bleddyn ap Iorwerth ap Dafydd of Halkyn;⁴⁸ he is described here as Ithel Fychan ap Ithel Fychan ap Ithel Gam. He also witnessed a lease to his son Tudur in 1316.⁴⁹ According to the pedigrees he married the daughter of Richard ap Cadwaladr ap Gruffydd ap Cynan; however, Richard ap Cadwaladr witnessed Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's grant of the church of Holywell to Basingwerk abbey in about 1200, which makes such a marriage chronologically difficult.⁵⁰ It has been suggested that his wife may have been the daughter of Richard de Caldy, a neighbour who was killed in 1282.⁵¹ He had nine sons, Ithel, Cynwrig Sais, Tudur, Dafydd, Bleddyn, Llywelyn, Ieuan, Hywel, and Maredudd, and at least two daughters, Gwenllian, who married Madog ap Gruffydd

45. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2633, 2463-6, 2167, 2441, 2168.

46. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2463-6.

47. F.M.A. 1301-28, pp. 79, 87. Ithel Person is described as Ithel Fychan in U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2000.

48. E. A. Ebbelwhite, 'Flintshire genealogical notes' in Arch. Camb., 1892, p. 315.

49. Ibid.

50. G. B. Leach, 'Excavations at Hen Blas, Coleshill Fawr' in Jnl. Flints. Hist. Soc., XVIII (1960), pp. 42-3 (recitation of charter in P.R.O. Chester 30/2, m. 5). Furthermore, Cadwaladr died in 1172.

51. T. A. Glenn, 'Ithel Fychan of Halkyn and some of his descendants', in Arch. Camb., 1922, p. 137.

Fychan, lord of Glyndyfrdwy, and Ales, who married Roppert ab Iorwerth of Llaneurgain, a descendant of Ednywain Bendew.⁵² This multiplicity of sons made Ithel Fychan the ancestor of many Flintshire families; others were also descended from Uchdryd or from Ithel's grandfather, Ithel Gam, while the descendants of his brother Bleddyn also played a prominent part in the county in the fourteenth century.

The sons of Ithel Fychan are the best-documented of all the medieval members of the Mostyn family. They were among the most important and ambitious Welshmen in Tegeingl and their activities are constantly reflected, not only in the judicial records, but also in the very large quantity of deeds in the family archives which show the development of the estate. This generation is important, not only to the family historian, but also to the student of contemporary Welsh history; the deeds, in particular, cast a light on one of the earliest examples of the accumulation of a landed estate. Although the family descent is from Tudur he cannot be considered in isolation from his brothers, since they acted together as often as they did as individuals and their activities, at least before about 1360, are closely linked with the general history of the county. Ithel Person or Ithel Fychan II may have been the eldest brother; as his name implies, he was a cleric and portionary rector of Northop. The first mention of him in the records is a reference at the sessions held on 23 November, 1310, to his having sold some of the tithes of sheaves for £36;⁵³ on 9 August, 1311, he appeared with his brothers Bleddyn, Tudur, Llywelyn, Dafydd, Hywel, Maredudd, and Ieuan as the defendants in an action of novel disseisin brought by Owain Sais of Northop.⁵⁴ This, presumably, was connected with a previous action brought against Ithel Fychan at the previous sessions;⁵⁵ the brothers were accused of having disseised Owain of 42 tenements, 974 acres, and 3 mills

52. J. E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, p. 12; N.L.W. Peniarth 127, p. 131.

53. P.R.O. Chester 30/5, m. 5a.

54. P.R.O. Chester 30/5, m. 15b.

55. P.R.O. Chester 30/5, m. 14b.

in 25 townships, including Northop, Bagillt, Mostyn, Caerwys, and Holywell. This was, in fact, all the land of which Cynwrig had died seised and these various actions must have been tied up with the settlement of his estate. The brothers' defence was that Owain had released and quitclaimed 240 acres in Trefednywain, Mertyn, Ysgeifiog, Llys-y-coed, Mostyn, and Bagillt to them; this was admitted and Owain was eventually amerced for a false claim in respect of this land while the brothers were amerced for the unjust disseisin of the remainder. On 11 April, 1317, Isabella, described as the widow of Cynwrig Sais, sued a writ of dower against Ithel Person for tenements in Maenefa and Bodfari but failed to appear;⁵⁶ the litigation over Cynwrig's estate was probably brought to an end in 1332 when Owain Sais ap Cynwrig Fychan ap Cynwrig Sais granted all the lands in question in 24 Flintshire townships, in Penmaen and Llysfaen in Caernarvonshire, and in Newbold in Cheshire to Ithel Person.⁵⁷ The lands had lately been acquired by Owain from his father. The grant suggests that Ithel had bought Owain out and in doing so had added considerably to the family possessions; it is possible that the properties were divided among the brothers and that part, at least, of the patrimony of Owain Sais was to be included in the later Mostyn estate.⁵⁸ Between 1322 and 1328 Ithel also obtained land in Caerwys and Northop, along with the mill of Helygain Llan, and he appears in deeds from time to time as a witness to transactions involving his brothers.⁵⁹

In 1326-7 Ithel was farming the raglotry of Englefield at £85 and he may,

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56. U.C.N.W. Bodrhyddan 2335. Isabella was also the name of the wife of Cynwrig Fychan ap Cynwrig Sais (P.R.O. Chester 38/25/3, m. 14b).
57. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3263; the grant was enrolled on the patent rolls (C.P.R. 1330-1334, p. 331). In 1334 Ithel Person held 11 acres 3 roods in Llysfaen, rendering 6d. annually; the lands had formerly belonged to Tegwared ap Ieuan and Dafydd, his brother (Survey of Denbigh, p. 321).
58. In 1380-1 the escheator of Caernarvonshire accounted for 5s. of the issues of 8 acres in Llysfaen and Penmaen which were of Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel and his co-heirs (P.R.O. S.C.6/1172/10); these, presumably, were the lands formerly held by Ithel Person, which suggests that the brothers were sharers in this inheritance, especially since under the Statute of Wales Ithel's son could not inherit.
59. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1998, 2000, 2598, 2442 (party); 2490, 2811, 3262 (witness).

as has already been suggested, have been one of the farmers in 1320.⁶⁰ He was still farming it in 1328 and in 1331 he and his brothers Cynwrig and Bleddyn were among those farming half the office for three years at £42. 10s.⁶¹ In 1327 he was appointed, along with Roger Cheyney and Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, to a commission to examine the charter of Henry de Lacy granting rights of chase to the tenants of the lordship of Denbigh, which Hugh Despenser the elder had prevented them from enjoying;⁶² this indicates that he was a man of some consequence. He died in 1341.⁶³ Although a cleric, he was not celibate; his wife was Lleucu ferch Ieuan ap Madog, a descendant of Rhirid Flaidd, and they had at least one son, Dafydd, who appears frequently in Flintshire records of the fourteenth century as does his son, Rhys Wyn.⁶⁴ Dafydd ap Ithel Person was described in 1349-50 as 'bastard son of Ithel the Parson' when he was pardoned for his trespass in acquiring various tenements in Englefield but his official illegitimacy was no great stigma since he was coroner of Englefield in 1350.⁶⁵ Ithel was succeeded as parson of Northop by his brother Dafydd who was also his executor.⁶⁶ Northop was the richest living in the county and it included the borough of Flint; it is not therefore surprising that there was a long-drawn-out dispute between the earl and the bishop over the advowson.⁶⁷

Cynwrig Sais was the most prominent of the sons of Ithel Fychan and his official activities earned him an unsavoury reputation. The grip of the family on Englefield seems to have begun during the reign of Edward II. The cantref, with its three component commotes of Rhuddlan, Prestatyn and Coleshill, was

60. F.M.A. 1301-28, pp. 87, 79.

61. F.M.A. 1328-53, p. 1; C.R.R. I, p. 380.

62. C.P.R. 1327-1330, p. 149.

63. F.M.A., 1328-53, p. xxxv.

64. N.L.W. Peniarth 127, p. 126.

65. P.R.O. S.C.6/771/16; P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 83b.

66. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 83a.

67. For the Northop advowson dispute see D. R. Thomas, History of the Diocese of St. Asaph (1906), I, p. 59; this describes a dispute in 1310. The issue came up again in 1347 (P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 57b) when Dafydd ap Ithel Fychan was parson of three parts of the church and Cynwrig ap Ithel of one part, and again in 1368 (P.R.O. Chester 30/11, mm. 1a, 4a, 5a). In 1291 the two rectorial portions were worth £22. 6s. 8d. and the vicarage £8 (Taxatio Nich. IV, p. 287).

under the charge of the rhaglaw of Englefield who, like his subsidiary officials, was almost invariably Welsh;⁶⁸ some Welsh families played a particularly prominent part in Flintshire affairs and the sons of Ithel were to be among them. The Welsh of the county seem to have remained loyal to Edward II during the troubles of his reign and appear to have aided the royal forces in the pursuit of rebels in 1322, when the king apologised for his delay in considering a petition from the men of Englefield.⁶⁹ But the troubles of the reign did not pass the county by; in 1325-6 Rhuddlan castle was reinforced 'on account of rumours heard of nightly gatherings of Welshmen called Dadelowes' (dadleuon).⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the royal revenue remained steady, presumably as a result of the policy of farming offices, and the accounts show a steady rise in incidental issues. The farm of various offices increased during the reign; that of the raglotry of Englefield, for example, rose from £63. 15s. 7d. in 1305 to £85 in 1326 and it has been suggested that this was due to the extortionately profitable activities of the farmers.⁷¹ This was not, after all, a period of prosperity and the famine of 1315-7 in particular had been notorious throughout Europe.⁷² The price of maintaining the royal revenue, however, may have been the decline in standards of administration and public morality typified by the case of Cynwrig Sais. Another feature which suggests a decline in administrative standards at this time is the presence of several gaps in the accounts of the chamberlain of Chester during the reign of Edward II and there is a similar gap in the very full series of Flintshire plea rolls between 1311 and 1326, with the exception of a small stray of 1316-17 in the Bodrhyddan papers.⁷³ Of course, documents do disappear over the years, but the very fullness of what has survived of the records of the palatinate

68. This is discussed in F.M.A., 1301-28, pp. xii-xiii.

69. F.M.A., 1301-28, p. xlix; C.P.R. 1321-1324, p. 136. Similar letters were sent to the other royal lands in North Wales and to adjacent lordships.

70. F.M.A., 1301-28, pp. 82-3.

71. Ibid., pp. xlvi-xlix.

72. Denys Hay, Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (1966), p. 32.

73. F.M.A., 1301-28, pp. viii-ix; U.C.N.W. Bodrhyddan 2335.

of Chester suggests that these gaps are not accidental.

The activities of Cynwrig and his brothers must be considered against this background. In 1335 he and Richard de Birchoure leased half the raglotry and escheatorship of Englefield and on 4 June, 1336, he was granted the farm of the raglotry for three years at £60 annually and the escheatorship at £40.⁷⁴ It was up to him to make what profit he could and he seems to have taken full advantage of his position at all times. The first complaint about his activities was at the sessions held on 9 December, 1336, when he was accused, among other things, of interfering with the rights of pasture of the free tenants of Englefield and the burgesses of Caerwys.⁷⁵ There were also various charges relating to the holding of courts; men had been amerced for non-suit to the county and hundred courts although they had previously made fine to be excused.⁷⁶ He put himself on the country and the jury found him not guilty.

If these had been the only charges arising from the way in which Cynwrig Sais executed the office of rhaglaw of Englefield it might be assumed that he was a capable official unjustly accused, but there were many other complaints to come. On 29 October, 1341, he was summoned to the sessions to answer charges that he and the sheriff of Flintshire, William de Praers, had committed various offences against the community of Englefield.⁷⁷ These included false accusations, the extortion of heavy fines, ostensibly for the lord's protection but in reality for that offered by Cynwrig, the maltreatment of the bishop of St. Asaph and the collection of excessive food-renders. Robert ap Gruffydd had been compelled to pledge himself in £100 to Cynwrig if he obtained office in the county; this was a dangerous move since Robert or Roppert was the

74. C.R.R. I, p. 427.

75. P.R.O. Chester 30/7, m. 33b. His defence was that, as the king had a share in the grazing rights he was merely protecting his interests and the Caerwys burgesses were trespassing.

76. The regular fine paid by the community to avoid suit to the county was known in Englefield as arian sir (P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/4); see Waters, Edwardian Settlement, p. 100, for a similar custom in the principality. Cynwrig's defence was that it was sometimes impossible for judgements to be given in hundred courts because of the lack of suiters and that he had therefore proclaimed publicly that they should attend whether they had made fine or not.

77. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 2b; this case is discussed in detail in F.M.A. 1328-53, pp. xxii-xxiii. - 72 -

brother of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, the virtual ruler of the royal lands in South Wales and a member of the powerful Wyrion Eden complex of descendants of Ednyfed Fychan. This episode may have been the beginning of a feud between the two families. Cynwrig's brothers were also involved in the accusations; with him they were charged with having obtained lands from different men in Englefield without licence, with the result that suit for these lands was no longer due at the county or hundred courts. It is not difficult to see what lay behind this charge; land was being purchased and an estate was beginning to accumulate as a result of pressure. Cynwrig and his brothers were also accused of forestalling, having, it was alleged, stopped reapers on highways and at fords and taken corn from them. Bleddyn, Dafydd, Tudur, Ieuan, and Llywelyn ap Ithel Fychan appeared in court on the same day as Cynwrig, charged with conspiring with him and Praers to commit some of these crimes and being associated in them.⁷⁸ Not surprisingly, Cynwrig waived his right to put himself on the country and placed himself in the earl's mercy. He was fined 300 marks; Llywelyn was fined 200 marks, Dafydd 100, Bleddyn and Tudur £10 each, and Ieuan 10 marks. Cynwrig's son Ithel was fined £5; presumably they were ranged in descending order of guilt.⁷⁹ They were all given time to pay, generally three years, paying two instalments annually.

These were not the only charges brought against Cynwrig Sais at these sessions. He was also accused of conspiring with Praers and others to suggest to the justice of Chester and his deputy that they should find by a false inquisition that he had a share in the waste marsh of Gronant.⁸⁰ The dispute over Gronant was to last for several years; in 1337 Cynwrig had been ordered to mark the bounds of Gronant and Gwespyr and to divide the waste between the earl and the tenants, a division which, it appears, was not unprofitable to Cynwrig

78. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 3a.

79. F.M.A., 1328-53, pp. 11-2.

80. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 2a.

and his brothers.⁸¹ The case was adjourned to 26 November;⁸² Cynwrig then stated that 20 acres of the marsh was escheat land, part of which was leased by him at 12d. an acre while 16 acres had been leased by his brother Ithel Person. When Ithel died in 1341 his share passed to Cynwrig and his other brothers Dafydd, Bleddyn, Llywelyn, Tudur, and Ieuan. Cynwrig also claimed to be one of the fifteen co-tenants of the rest of the moor; in other words, he, and, to a lesser extent, his brothers, were enjoying rights in the whole moor for the annual sum of 20s. and it would probably only have been a matter of time before it passed into their possession. The result of the action was that the earl recovered Gronant and obtained damages of £10 to which he waived his right, being, as has been suggested, glad enough to get the land out of the brothers' grasp.⁸³ The final episode is a quit-claim dated 16 February, 1349, in which Cynwrig's five brothers released their claims in Gronant Moor to the prince; this followed a letter, dated 24 November, 1348, from the earl to the chamberlain of Chester in which he said that the brothers were bound to him in a great sum but that he would release them from their bond if they undertook to make no further claims in the marsh.⁸⁴

In the light of these episodes there can be little doubt that the cantref of Englefield was misgoverned and that its inhabitants lived under an oppressive and extortionate regime. There are other indications as well; at some time, probably in the 1330s, the people of Englefield complained to the earl about their sheriff, William de Shavington.⁸⁵ They complained that they were suffering various wrongs at the hands of officials; Shavington was offering large sums for the farm of offices, thereby pricing local men out of the market, levying excessive amercements for straying beasts, and ignoring the local customs which Edward I had respected. These, with the other complaints in the petition, are similar to the charges brought against Cynwrig Sais. A like situation

81. F.M.A., 1328-53, p. xxxiv.

82. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 4a; F.M.A. 1328-53, p. xxxv.

83. F.M.A., 1328-53, p. xxxv.

84. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 5b.

85. P.R.O. E163/5/21.

is reflected in a petition from the men of Englefield to the king which may date from the reign of Edward II;⁸⁶ the principal request was that the justice of Chester should not lease bailiwicks at farm and that bailiffs should be elected as they were in the march. Not surprisingly, this application was rejected but the petitioners were told that the justice would be instructed not to lease offices at too high a farm. Among the other requests was one for the confirmation of the charter of 1242.

If administrative standards had begun to decline during the reign of Edward II, they certainly continued to deteriorate under his son. It has been said of Cynwrig Sais that his 'instincts and bearing were those of the lord of a commote, not its bailiff' and he certainly does seem to have regarded Englefield as his personal satrapy;⁸⁷ his prosecution has been described as an indictment of the whole policy of farming office.⁸⁸ The farmer had to make a profit to make the farm worthwhile but the temptation to go too far was often irresistible, especially when competition pushed farms steadily upwards. It is easy to understand the attraction of the practice as far as the authorities were concerned; a regular income was assured without the trouble of collection but it could and did bear very hard on the tenantry. And with the trial and conviction of Cynwrig Sais a number of chickens came home to roost. His official career was now at an end and he retired to his home at Golden Grove near Llanasa. Nevertheless, he now had to face the wrath of many of his victims and a number of actions against him, mostly of novel disseisin in and around Gronant, follow in the plea rolls;⁸⁹ his wife Margery was also involved in some of them. None of these actions seem to have reached a conclusion;

86. P.R.O. S.C.8/110/5462, printed in Cheshire Sheaf, 1923, pp. 88-9; it is dated here about 1312 but on what grounds is not stated.

87. F.M.A., 1328-53, p. xxviii.

88. Ibid., p. xxiii.

89. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, mm. 6a, 11a, 13a, 15, 20a. A typical case was that brought on 25 March, 1342 (m. 6a) by Gruffydd ap Hywel ap Iorwerth who complained that Cynwrig and Einion ap Madog had unjustly disseised him of 60 acres in Nant and Trelawnyd. Cynwrig replied that Gruffydd's tenement was no more than 31 acres and that 25 acres had belonged to Ithel Person and had descended to his brothers who held it by inheritance and not by disseisin.

after several adjournments the plaintiffs generally failed to appear in court, so the cases ended in Cynwrig's favour; in the words of Sir David Evans, their 'courage probably failed them at the prospect of a battle of wits with the redoubtable ex-raglot.'⁹⁰

The tenure of office was not his only interest. As early as 1320 he was farming the mills of Picton, Trelawnyd, and Llinegr at £16 and he farmed Llinegr again in 1333.⁹¹ In 1337 he and Maredudd ap Gruffydd of Hopedale were granted the bailiwick of the Forest of Rusty and in 1344 the mills of Llinegr and Trelawnyd were leased to him and Richard de Eston for three years at 100s. annually.⁹² On various occasions he was a juror at the sessions and he appears as a party in some deeds; in 1311, for example, he obtained lands in Trefednywain.⁹³ The witnesses to this transaction included the bishop, the archdeacon, and two of the canons of St. Asaph, along with the abbot of Basingwerk, which is some indication of his status. He also obtained lands in Caerwys in 1331 and a four years lease of a share in Gronant mill in 1318 and he appears many times as a witness to transactions by his brothers, the last occasion being in 1346 when he witnessed a gift of lands in Whitford Garn to Tudur.⁹⁴

Cynwrig's wife was called Margery. There is some confusion in the pedigrees about his sons; Cynwrig Sais of Northop is credited with two sons, Dafydd and Ithel, along with an illegitimate one, the eminent soldier, Sir Gregory Sais, but this Cynwrig died in 1311, which does not make chronological sense since Sir Gregory died in 1390.⁹⁵ Cynwrig Sais ap Ithel Fychan certainly had two sons called Dafydd and Ithel, which suggests that he was also the father of Sir Gregory; the only son of his namesake whose existence is attested by record evidence was called Cynwrig Fychan. He also had at least two daughters,

90. F.M.A., 1328-53, p. xxviii.

91. F.M.A., 1301-28, p. 78; C.R.R. I., p. 427.

92. C.R.R. I, p. 427.

93. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2942.

94. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2001, 2515, 3007.

95. N.L.W. Peniarth 127, p. 130.

Angharad, who married Hywel ap Gruffydd of Dinmael, and Eva, the wife of Cynwrig ap Bleddyn ap Ithel Anwyl.⁹⁶ Dafydd married Angharad, daughter of Roppert ap Gruffydd of Kimmel; in 1345 Cynwrig conveyed all his lands in Caerfallwch, Coed-y-cra and Dolfechlas to them.⁹⁷ In 1316 Dafydd conveyed all his rights in Helygain Wern to his uncle Tudur; his brother Ithel did the same the following year.⁹⁸ Cynwrig himself seems still to have been paying off the fine imposed some years earlier in 1348 but in the same year there is a reference to his widow, which suggests that this was the year of his death.⁹⁹ In conclusion it may be said that despite the successful prosecution of Cynwrig, the people of Englefield were little better off; they continued to suffer during the next decade at the hands of his son.

The official career of Ithel ap Cynwrig Sais illuminates the background against which the sons of Ithel Fychan were operating. As an official he did better than his father; as an oppressor of the tenantry he was his equal if not his superior. In 1347 he and Richard de Eston farmed the mills of Llinegr and Trelawnyd at £8. 6s. 8d. annually and in 1349 he and Rhys ap Roppert of Kimmel were granted the farm of the avowries of Englefield for seven years at an annual farm of 30s.; they also leased the escheat lands of the cantref for the same term at £40.¹⁰⁰ In 1349-50 he was bailiff of Caerwys, farming the profits and perquisites of the courts for £12; he had ceased to hold this office by 1352-3.¹⁰¹ In the same year he and Rhys ap Roppert were jointly farming the constableness and shrievalty of Flint for seven years at £46. 13s. 4d.;¹⁰² this farm seems to have expired in 1351 when the offices were granted to Ithel alone for five years at the same fee.¹⁰³ In 1357 he was succeeded by Rhys who

96. Powys Fadog VI, p. 58; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 184; according to Peniarth 127, pp. 127-8, however, Eva married Maredudd ap Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, a descendant of Sandde Hardd. Cynwrig is also credited with another daughter, Nest, wife of Henry Salusbury (Arch. Camb., 1878, p. 39), as well as with Lleucu, wife of Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith (Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 183).

97. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2600.

98. E. A. Ebbelwhite in Arch. Camb., 1892, p. 315.

99. F.M.A., 1328-53, pp. xxviii, 21.

100. C.R.R. I., p. 427; he leased Llinegr for another four years in 1351 (*ibid.*).

101. P.R.U. S.C.6/1186/4, 9.

102. P.R.O. S.C.6/1186/4.

103. C.R.R. I., p. 427.

held the two offices for the next three years;¹⁰⁴ in that year, too, he was custodian of the temporalities of St. Asaph during the see's vacancy following the death of bishop John Trefor I.¹⁰⁵

This was a considerable cursus honorum but Ithel had his problems. Despite the early collaboration with Rhys ap Roppert some rivalry seems to have developed; in November, 1352, Dafydd, Bleddyn and Tudur ap Ithel Fychan, Ithel ap Dafydd ap Cynwrig, Cynwrig ap Ieuan ap Ithel, and Ithel himself complained to the prince that Rhys ap Roppert ap Gruffydd, the escheator of Flintshire, had unjustly seized their lands and tenements into the prince's hands and they sought a remedy.¹⁰⁶ In December, 1353, the prince stated that he had leased the shrievalty and raglotry to Rhys ap Roppert on condition that he find an English constable for Flint castle;¹⁰⁷ this was in spite of the fact that Ithel's grant was to run until Easter, 1357. The grant seems to have been challenged, since it was agreed in May, 1354, that Ithel should remain in office until the following Michaelmas when Rhys would take over for a year.¹⁰⁸ He also appears to have done his best to discredit his rival; in July, 1354, the officials at Chester were ordered to investigate Rhys's sins during his term as escheator.¹⁰⁹ It was stated that he had promised the prince great profits but had been defrauding him ever since; significantly this enquiry was undertaken at the suit of Ithel ap Cynwrig Sais. In fact, Ithel seems to have retained the shrievalty until 1357 and in February, 1355, he was ordered by the prince's council¹¹⁰

to bear himself well (and to take good care to do so) in his office and carry out the promises which he made before the prince's council when he undertook it.

His term finally ended at Michaelmas, 1357; the following November he was ordered to keep the estate of the deanery of St. Asaph for the prince's nominee and keep out the candidate provided by Rome, an order which he seems

104. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 254.

105. B.P.R. III, p. 236.

106. Ibid., p. 80.

107. Ibid., p. 137.

108. Ibid., p. 167.

109. B.P.R. III, p. 174.

110. Ibid., p. 193.

to have disobeyed.¹¹¹

The key to the rivalry, if such there was, of Ithel and Rhys may lie in their descent. Ithel represented the family which had risen to predominance in Englefield while Rhys belonged to the greatest official family in North Wales, the chief representatives of that class which had grown up under the thirteenth-century princes of Gwynedd as the executants of their policy. The rivalry may therefore reflect a struggle between the descendants of Ithel Fychan and Wyrion Eden for the control of Englefield. After all, Rhys's uncle controlled the royal lands in South Wales, while his kinsman Sir Gruffydd Llwyd had led the royal party in Gwynedd during the troubles of Edward II's reign and the Penmynydd branch of the family had also played a prominent part; under these circumstances a bid for power in north-east Wales would be understandable. Yet, despite the evidence of ill-feeling between the two families, they were closely related by marriage; Rhys's sister Angharad married Dafydd ap Cynwrig Sais, Ithel's brother, and his daughter Lleucu was the wife of Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan.¹¹² And whatever element of competition there may have been in the activities of Ithel and Rhys, it made little difference to the life of the tenantry; they were both equally oppressive.

As in the case of his father, the key to the rule of Ithel ap Cynwrig Sais lies in the farming of offices. The Black Prince's administration, in constant need of money, tried to obtain as high a farm as possible when grants came up for renewal and the successful bidders had to reimburse themselves. Matters were made worse by the Black Death, which seems to have reached the county in

111. *Ibid.*, p. 283. The prince had presented Robert de Walsham but the pope had provided Benet ap Iorwerth or Benet of Mold (Le Neve, *Fasti*, XI (1965) p. 40). Ithel had done nothing a month later (*B.P.R.* III, p. 290), the implication being that Benet was possibly a kinsman. He was warned of the consequences of disobedience, as was Rhys ap Roppert. Benet was eventually caught and imprisoned in Chester castle, the constable being warned to guard him in irons (*Fasti*, p. 40).

112. Some sources describe his mother as Lleucu, daughter of Ithel Fychan (H. J. F. Vaughan, 'On the tribe of Ednowain Bendew' in *Arch. Camb.*, 1877, p. 56; his wife, incidentally, was the daughter of Madog Llwyd ap Iorwerth Foel, the brother of Ednyfed Gam of Pengwern (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 184).

1349. The pestilence had the same effect in Flintshire as elsewhere;¹¹³ the earl's income slumped and much of it was not collected at all. Mill dues fell heavily, which suggests that those working on the land had been particularly hard-hit, and debts, too, went uncollected. The results of the Black Death in Wales are well-known;¹¹⁴ the bondmen suffered most and this not only led to a labour shortage but to an increasing burden of rents and services on the survivors because of the nature of tir cyfrif tenure. At the same time a government in constant need of money, not only for its own requirements but also to help pay for its master's campaigns in France, let nothing go by default. The same amount of money had to be raised from fewer tenants since the bondmen carried the heavier burden of taxation and the farming of offices gave the farmers a freedom of action which all too often led to extortion. It has been suggested that the leasing of the shrievalty to Welshmen who were the leaders of local society was the result of an official belief that they had the influence to raise more money and Rhys ap Ropert seems to have suggested this;¹¹⁵ moreover, the descendants of Ithel Fychan have been described as the only family with enough authority and local knowledge to collect the royal income from the county during the years after the Black Death.¹¹⁶ This is the background against which the long petition submitted by the men of Englefield to the prince in September, 1358, must be examined.¹¹⁷ The petitioners began by reciting the charter of 1242 that they should hold all their lands freely in return for an annual payment at Chester, adding that they had also enjoyed an unlimited right of free alienation. This claim is doubtful; no change was made in the Welsh legal principle that land could not be bought or sold in 1284 and the law was generally enforced.¹¹⁸ A large number of complaints about the

113. The effect of the plague on Flintshire is briefly discussed in C. R. Williams, Op. cit., pp. 100-1.

114. For the Black Death in Wales see W. Rees, 'The Black Death in Wales' in R. W. Southern, (ed), Essays in Medieval History (1968), pp. 179-99, also Glamor Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation (1963), pp. 146-54, and Gwyn A. Williams, 'The revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr' in Wales through the Ages, I, p. 177.

115. C. R. Williams, Op. cit., p. 101; B.P.R. III, p. 174.

116. F.M.A., 1328-53, p. xxxix.

117. B.P.R. III, p. 318.

118. This is discussed in Waters, Edwardian Settlement, pp. 158-9.

activities of royal officials follow; they include excessive ameracements, extortion by minor officials (and their wives), threatening behaviour by the sheriff at the tourn, the maintenance of suits, and the use of false witnesses.¹¹⁹ Yet, in spite of these complaints, no action seems to have been taken against the offending officials and the evidence of later judicial records suggests that there was little subsequent improvement. Nor was this the first occasion on which complaints had been made; in December, 1354, Ithel and Rhys had been ordered to find sureties to keep the peace towards the men of Flintshire.¹²⁰

In August, 1358, Ithel and his heirs had been granted Gronant Moor at an annual farm of 20 marks;¹²¹ it is ironic that the same moor had been one of the matters which had led to his father's downfall. He had had to bid against the community of Gronant to obtain the lease and had succeeded because he had the better security.¹²² His wife was called Christina and they had a daughter, Alice, who married William de Rixton;¹²³ after Ithel's death Christina married again, her second husband being Hugh de Sutton. Ithel died in 1363; on 12 June of that year Ieuan ap Dafydd Goch was appointed bailiff of his lands, goods, and chattels in Flintshire.¹²⁴ Christina was his executor and she was involved in various actions, partly over the settlement of his estate and partly in consequence of her own activities;¹²⁵ various individuals, including Rhys ap Roppert, sued her for debts owed by Ithel during the next few years and there seems also to have been some discord within the family over Alice's

119. For an example of oppression by a minor official (in this case the rhingyll of Faenol) see P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 2b.

120. P.R.O. Chester 30/9, m. 13b.

121. P.R.O. S.C.6/1186/17; it was also agreed that sea defences should be built and if the sea broke through Ithel and his heirs would be allowed 12d. annually for every acre inundated (B.P.R. III, p. 358).

122. F.M.A. 1328-53, p. xxxv.

123. P.R.O. Chester 30/10, m. 25a.

124. C.R.R. I, p. 198. In July, 1364, Christina sued Ieuan to account for stock and rents during his term of office, claiming £40 arrears of rent and £100 damages; he had been Ithel's bailiff in Gronant for 16 years (P.R.O. Chester 30/10, m. 19a).

125. P.R.O. Chester 30/10, m. 15a. An inquisition taken at Diserth on 21 May, 1365, found that she still held various lands belonging to other people which Ithel had occupied (P.R.O. Chester 38/25/3, m. 11a). The litigation is to be found in P.R.O. Chester 30/10, mm. 15a, 19a, 21a, 25a, 26a, 31b, 36a.

inheritance.¹²⁶ Christina was dead by December, 1397, when there is a reference in the plea roll to her executor.¹²⁷ Ithel appears to have had a son called Tudur but as he does not appear as his heir he may be assumed to have been illegitimate.¹²⁸

The career of Cynwrig Sais' probable third and illegitimate son Sir Gregory Sais was largely outside Wales.¹²⁹ He was a distinguished soldier who saw a great deal of service in France and who figures frequently in the pages of Froissart; during Richard II's Scottish campaign of 1384 he commanded the Berwick garrison and Owain Glyn Dwr served there under his command.¹³⁰ He married a Poitevin heiress, Ragona or Ragonde Bechet, lady of Mortemer, who brought him lands there, but he returned to Flintshire in his old age. In 1386 he was granted a licence to purchase lands worth £40 in North Wales, Cheshire and Flintshire and in 1388 he and Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan leased Mostyn at an annual rent of 20 marks.¹³¹ They also farmed the perquisites of the Caerwys borough court, along with the fair and market tolls, for 100s.¹³² These farms were renewed in 1390; Sir Gregory was then farming Caerwys on his own at £11. He died in 1390 and his inquisition post mortem was taken on 14 September of that year.¹³³ His lands amounted to 40 messuages and 400 acres in 13 townships, mainly in the commote of Prestatyn; they had been taken into the king's hands because they had been acquired from him by Robert de Neston, chaplain, and Henry de Salesbury without the royal licence and they had then conveyed them to his widow and to Cadwgan Sais, again without licence. They were all granted a pardon on 5 January, 1391.¹³⁴

126. P.R.O. Chester 30/10, mm. 31b, 36a; she sued her son-in-law again in December, 1386 (P.R.O. Chester 30/13, m. 18a).

127. P.R.O. Chester 30/16, m. 2a.

128. C.R.R. I, p. 428.

129. For a brief account of the career of Sir Gregory Sais see A. D. Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years War' in W.H.R. IV, i (1968), p. 30.

130. P.R.O. E101/39/39.

131. C.R.R. I, p. 427; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/4.

132. C.R.R. I, pp. 427-8; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/4.

133. P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/5.

134. C.R.R. I, p. 342.

None of the other sons of Ithel Fychan played as prominent a part in the affairs of the county as did Cynwrig Sais. In addition to Ithel Person two others were clerics, namely Dafydd, who was rector of Cilcain in 1345 and rector of three parts of Northop by 1347, and Llywelyn, who was parson of Whitford.¹³⁵ They appear frequently in the judicial records of the county as jurors, as sureties and occasionally as litigants;¹³⁶ in April, 1338, for example, Bleddyn ap Ithel Fychan and his kinsman Dafydd ap Bleddyn Fychan were acquitted at the sessions of having diverted an ancient watercourse at Halkyn Bach for the advantage of their mill, thereby depriving the earl's mill of water so that it could not operate.¹³⁷ In the spring of 1343 Bleddyn and Dafydd were among the sureties in a case in which the entire Welsh community of Englefield was amerced for an assault on the deputy-justices of Chester at the sessions at Flint and for making a disturbance there.¹³⁸ On 28 September, 1349, Bleddyn and Tudur were members of an inquisition which found that the men of Maelor Saesneg, Hope, and Hopedale were responsible for the payment of one-third of the mise of 1,000 marks levied from the whole community of Flintshire in 1346 as an aid for the knighting of the prince.¹³⁹ Bleddyn was frequently a juror at the sheriff's tourn, appearing in that capacity for the last time in 1361;¹⁴⁰ the tourn rolls also record various minor offences committed against the brothers, as in August, 1346, when Adam, a monk of Whalley Abbey, burgled Llywelyn's chest at Holywell.¹⁴¹

The activities of the brothers as purchasers of land are reflected in the

135. For Dafydd see U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2472 (Cilcain) and P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 57b (Northop); T. A. Glenn in Arch. Camb., 1922, p. 137, describes Llywelyn as parson of Whitford.

136. Tudur was sued at the sessions in September, 1331, over a messuage and 20 acres in Mostyn (P.R.O. Chester 30/7, m. 17a); Ieuan was successfully sued in a plea of debt in 1343 (P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 20a); for other references to them at the sessions see P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 9a (Dafydd); Chester 30/9, mm. 7a, 24a (do).

137. P.R.O. Chester 30/7, m. 38b.

138. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 16a.

139. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 77a; C. R. Williams, History of Flintshire, I, p. 103; F.M.A., 1328-53, p. lvii.

140. P.R.O. Chester 19/8, m. 35.

141. P.R.O. Chester 19/8, m. 10a.

magnificent series of medieval deeds among the Mostyn archives. This is one of the richest collections of medieval deeds relating to any Welsh estate and it sheds a particularly vivid light on the land purchases of Tudur ap Ithel Fychan, the ancestor of the Mostyns; there are also, however, several deeds relating to purchases by Bleddyn and Dafydd. As well as being parties to transactions, the brothers witnessed each others' deeds. Tudur and Bleddyn appear for the first time in 1316, the former as a party and the latter as a witness;¹⁴² at this time they both bore the cognomen ⁿGoch which suggests red hair in the family. Dafydd and Ieuan both appear for the first time as witnesses in 1330 and Ilywelyn's first appearance is as a party in 1336.¹⁴³ The earliest reference to Hywel is in 1331 and the last in 1348, while Maredudd does not appear at all.¹⁴⁴ Tudur, Bleddyn, and Dafydd all appear in a deed of 1366, the first as a party and the others as witnesses;¹⁴⁵ they probably died not long afterwards and Dafydd was certainly dead by 1368.¹⁴⁶

Bleddyn and Dafydd purchased a considerable amount of land but their acquisitions were on nothing like the scale of those of Tudur. Between 1326 and 1361 Bleddyn spent £17. 7s. 4d. on lands in Bagillt, Brynford, Caerwys, Coed-y-cra, Mertyn, Treffynnon (Holywell), and Trellyniau;¹⁴⁷ there may, of course, have been others of which no deeds have survived. None of them were large purchases and some of them adjoined lands which were already in his possession, as in the case of property he acquired in Brynford in 1341.¹⁴⁸ Six of the thirteen deeds are conveyances in tir prid.¹⁴⁹ Dafydd's acquisitions followed a similar pattern; they cover the period 1330-49 and comprised property in Bagillt, Caerwys, Cilcain, Llys-y-coed, Llystynhunedd, and Mold.¹⁵⁰ Not all the

142. E. A. Ebbelwhite in Arch. Camb., 1892, p. 315.

143. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2490, 2198, 2468.

144. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2807, 3119.

145. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2864; Ieuan's last appearance was in 1344 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2200).

146. Ithel ap Bleddyn ap Iadog had succeeded him at Northop by that year (P.R.O. Chester 30/11, m. 4a).

147. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2475, 2486, 2489-91, 1999, 2806-7, 2812, 3324, 2196, 2599, 2467.

148. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2491.

149. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2475, 1999, 2806-7, 3324, 2500.

150. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2003-4, 2198-9, 2200, 2154-5, 2169-73, 2565, 3238, 3322.

deeds to which he was a party give financial details but he spent more than £6. 13s. 4d.; they include three tir prid conveyances.¹⁵¹ Perhaps the most interesting transaction to which Dafydd was a party was the feoffment of himself and Bleddyn ap Gwenllian ferch Bleddyn ap Madog ap Bleddyn of Ystrad Alun by Madog ap Ieuaf ap Hwfa of a capital messuage in Llys-y-coed with lands there and in nine other townships with which he had earlier enfeoffed Madog; this was in 1349.¹⁵² The properties were to pass to the heirs of Bleddyn and in default of any such heirs to Bleddyn and Tudur ap Ithel Fychan. This transaction may be explained by the fact that Dafydd was a cleric and that, according to the law, his children could not therefore inherit, being illegitimate.¹⁵³ Bleddyn's matronymic description suggests that he was illegitimate and Dafydd certainly had a son of that name as well as another called Dafydd;¹⁵⁴ if this is correct, Gwenllian must have been his wife in the eyes of society and his concubine in the eyes of the church and the law. Consequently the feoffment was a means of ensuring that Dafydd's lands passed to his son. Finally, Llywelyn ap Ithel Fychan was a party in three deeds relating to land in Bagillt and Helygain Wern;¹⁵⁵ one of these was an exchange with Bleddyn.¹⁵⁶

But Tudur ap Ithel Fychan was to be the leading landowner of the family. Like his father he originally lived at Halkyn and in 1330 he and Bleddyn were described in a lease as being of that place.¹⁵⁷ His first acquisitions were also there; he appears for the very first time as a party to a property transaction on Palm Sunday, 1316, when he leased a piece of land from Bleddyn ap Iorwerth ap Dafydd for 12 years at an annual rent of 25 shillings.¹⁵⁸ In 1333 he acquired lands from Gruffydd and Cynwrig ap Bleddyn ap Iorwerth in Helygain

151. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2003, 2565, 3322.

152. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2173.

153. Bowen, Statutes, p. 26.

154. P.R.O. Chester 30/10, mm. 2b, 20a; these are both in connection with licences to buy land.

155. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2468-9, 3227.

156. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3227.

157. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2490.

158. E. A. Ebbelwhite in Arch. Camb., 1892, p. 315, no. 2.

Wern and Waunrwyddfid;¹⁵⁹ this seems to be the start of a process of buying out co-heirs. The deeds in the Mostyn collection in which Tudur was a party cover the period from 1326 to 1366. There are altogether 84 of them of which 31 are conveyances in tir pryd and it is interesting that no less than 77, including 30 conveyances in tir pryd, date from before the Black Death; they relate to properties in Bagillt, Bychton, Brynford, Caerwys, Dunys, Mertyn, Mostyn, Trelawnyd, Trelogan, Whitford Garn, Whitford Llan, and various other townships. Most of the brothers seem to have obtained a foothold in the borough of Caerwys; both Ithel Person and Cynwrig Sais did so and in 1326 Bleddyn obtained a burgage and a house there.¹⁶⁰ Dafydd paid 20s. for a house adjoining Tudur's land there in 1343, while Tudur obtained half a house in 1340.¹⁶¹ This suggests that the status of a burgess in the most Welsh of the Flintshire boroughs was regarded as something worth having and the connection of the Mostyn family with the town was to take on a renewed importance two centuries later. It is interesting to observe the difference between the attitude of the uchelwyr of Flintshire to Caerwys and to the castellated plantation boroughs of Rhuddlan and Flint which were regarded with hostility and suspicion. The castle boroughs of Gwynedd were equally unpopular, but the men of Flintshire do seem to have taken some positive action against the English colonies in their midst and their struggle lasted a long time.¹⁶²

Whatever the scale of Ithel Fychan's possessions, the fact that he had nine sons must have limited the size of each individual share. Ithel Person's

159. *Ibid.*, nos. 6, 7.

160. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1998-2001.

161. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2003, 2002.

162. In 1336 the men of Englefield petitioned for the revocation of the privileges of the two boroughs which were a burden and a nuisance to the Welsh of the area and contrary to their liberties (P.R.O. C49/46/1); several searches of the records were ordered but there is no indication of any result. In 1345 the burgesses of Rhuddlan complained that the Welsh had been proceeding against them in the King's Bench for the past 10 years to destroy their privileges, in addition to a physical attack at St. Asaph fair the previous year (Cal. Anc. Corr., p. 232; F.M.A., 1328-53, pp. xlv-vi; P.R.O. Chester 19/8, m. 5a) and in March, 1351, the prince referred to a plea against the burgesses of Rhuddlan at Westminster and ordered that no such pleas should be sued outside his court and that those who brought it should be arrested and imprisoned (B.P.R. III, p. 4). In 1379 money was being collected to pay for a similar prosecution (P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 17a).

acquisition of the estate of Cynwrig Sais of Northop was a valuable addition to the patrimony since his lands were divided among his brothers on his death in 1341 but some of them, especially Tudur, had already been in the market for some time.¹⁶³ Tudur's individual purchases were not large ones; there were no dramatic coups but his patient accumulation of small properties laid the foundations of the future Mostyn estate. It is not easy to analyse the way in which he did this; not every deed gives topographical or financial details and many may well have been lost, which means that neither his total expenditure nor the total extent of his acquisitions can be known, but the information which is available shows that Tudur was one of the most important estate-builders in fourteenth-century Wales. Between 1337 and 1362 he spent more than £4. 17s. on more than 21 acres in Bagillt. There were no large parcels of land here; on the whole the purchases tended to be of individual strips and holdings in open fields, sometimes adjoining parcels which were already in his possession. The largest piece of land in Bagillt of which any details are given was only 7 acres. Few acreages or prices are given in the five deeds between 1337 and 1347 which relate to lands in Bychton but the recitation of boundaries shows that Cynwrig Sais already had land both there and in Bagillt.¹⁶⁴ The information from some townships, of course, is particularly sparse but in Mertyn between 1332 and 1348 Tudur spent more than £9. 11s. on more than 23 acres, while four deeds from Mostyn between 1332 and 1336 give no details but show the acquisitive instinct in full swing.

But the bulk of Tudur's acquisitions were in the two townships of Whitford Garn and Whitford Llan, especially the former. For these townships there are 53 deeds between 1328 and 1355, a number of them being conveyances in tir prid; Mertyn, Mostyn, and Bychton were also within the ecclesiastical parish of Whitford. There is no evidence of any earlier family interest in Whitford but Tudur spent considerably more than £43. 11s. 6d. on land there and his purchases

163. Ithel Person's share of Gronant Moor was certainly divided among his brothers (P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 2a).

164. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2782.

amounted to well over 83 acres. Again, these were largely scattered parcels and there were no large-scale purchases; the largest of which details are available was the message and 19 acres which he acquired from Bleddyn ap Gwilym Ddu in 1329.¹⁶⁵ A good many parcels are named in different deeds and these show that individual holdings were scattered in open fields; in 1341, for example, Tudur obtained two pieces of arable land in Whitford Garm, one called Ero y Dellont between the lands of Cynwrig ap Ieuan and the lands of the sons of Philip ap Rhirid and abutting on the lands of Iorwerth ap Philip and on Ero Verr, while the other was called Ero Bant between the lands of the sons of Bleddyn ap Meurig and his own lands, abutting on the boundary of Mostyn and on the lands of the sons of Gruffydd Fychan.¹⁶⁶ Although he was a newcomer he seems gradually to have acquired large portions of the patrimony of existing tenants if not buying them out altogether; he obtained a message and 19 acres from Bleddyn ap Gwilym Ddu in 1329, another 10 acres in 1331 and a message and yet more lands in 1333.¹⁶⁷ He also bought a good deal of property from Gruffydd and Llywelyn, the sons of Philip ap Rhirid; there are twelve deeds relating to these purchases between 1339 and 1343 and Tudur paid them more than £14. 6s. 8d. There are, incidentally, several conveyances by brothers among the Mostyn deeds and in some, at least, of these cases it may be possible that the vendors were heirs to an inheritance which was too small for its division between them to make economic sense and so they sold out. No fewer than thirteen deeds relate to land adjoining properties already in Tudur's possession or in their midst; this again suggests a process of gradual expansion and rounding off.

Tudur was not the only member of his family to be buying land in Whitford at this time; seven deeds between 1330 and 1342 relate to acquisitions by his kinsman Cynwrig ap Bleddyn ap Ithel, possibly his first cousin. He also obtained property from Bleddyn ap Gwilym Ddu and Gruffydd ap Philip ap Rhirid, as well as from Cynwrig ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn, one of the leading local

165. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2965.

166. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2993.

167. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2965, 2971, 2973.

landowners;¹⁶⁸ much of this was eventually sold to Tudur, some by Cynwrig's son Dafydd, some by his grandson Dafydd ap Gwerfyl, and some by Rhys ap Roppert who had obtained it from Dafydd ap Gwerfyl.¹⁶⁹ And there were other purchases by Tudur elsewhere; several deeds refer to purchases in more than one township, as in 1343 when Gwenllian ferch Gruffydd quitclaimed all her lands in Trefednywain, Whitford, Tre'r Abad, and Maesbledrys to him.¹⁷⁰ There are also references to the acquisition of 'English' lands in Mostyn. An inquisition taken on 15 December, 1365, found that he had obtained 25 acres from Adam de Lynacre, Thomas le Taillour, and Richard Horne without licence.¹⁷¹ The land was confiscated and in December, 1374, two Englishmen made fine of £10 for it.¹⁷² This was land which had been set aside by Edward I for English settlers, often part of the demesne of the Welsh princes or lands escheated by Welshmen who had died against the peace in 1282.¹⁷³ In addition to Flint and Rhuddlan there seems to have been English land in Mostyn, Ewloe, Prestatyn, and Bachegraig. The temptation to sell to ambitious Welsh landowners must have been great but this seems to have been one thing the authorities would not allow; anything which could possibly weaken the position of English settlers in Englefield was unacceptable.

The deeds in the Mostyn archives do not only relate to conveyances to which Tudur was a party; there are a great many more relating to lands which the Mostyns subsequently acquired and which were retained with the estate muniments as evidence of title and to earlier conveyances of land which Tudur purchased. Viewed as a whole they show that there was a flourishing market in land in the district in the middle of the fourteenth century. It is unfortunate that there is no medieval extent of Englefield similar to that of Denbigh or to those of

168. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2969, 2979, 2990, 2976.

169. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3103 (Dafydd ap Cynwrig, 1345); 3012, 3010, 3118, 3243 (Dafydd ap Gwerfyl, 1347, 1346, 1344, 1341); 3123 (Rhys ap Roppert, 1353); 3103-4 (Dafydd ap Gwerfyl to Rhys, 1351, 1352); 3013 (Cynwrig to Tudur, 1347).

170. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3117.

171. P.R.O. Chester 38/25/3, m. 18; the escheator answered for 2s. issues of 14 acres of this land (P.R.O. S.C.6/1187/7).

172. P.R.O. Chester 30/11, m. 32b.

173. C. R. Williams, History of Flintshire, I, p. 93.

Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, so that there is no primary evidence of the relationship of kinship and land tenure. Tudur was certainly able to take advantage of a fairly fluid market in an area where the land was of good quality and therefore bound to be in demand. It is possible that the old tenurial structure was already breaking up, perhaps in consequence of the proximity of England and English ideas. Whatever the reasons, a great deal of land was being bought and sold in Whitford and the adjacent townships at this time and Tudur's purchases show how a dynamic Welsh proprietor could take advantage of a fluid situation. They also show the extent to which the prohibition of alienation was being ignored. This prohibition was as much of a grievance in Englefield as it was in North Wales; the community of the latter had been granted the right to alienate land for a period of three years in the Lincoln Ordinances of 1316 and the grant had been renewed for another four years in 1321.¹⁷⁴ In their petition of 1358 the men of Englefield claimed to have had enjoyed an unlimited right of free alienation but the evidence does not bear this out;¹⁷⁵ a memorandum drawn up in the reign of Edward III pointed out that the prohibition applied to the cantref and that lands could not be purchased there without licence except for the term of four years, (that is, conveyances in tir prid).¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, many had ignored the prohibition and in 1351 it was ordered that all Welsh lands purchased in fee without licence should be seized;¹⁷⁷ in 1354, however, the authorities decided to take fines from those who wanted licence to alienate.¹⁷⁸ These activities may reflect an attempt by the prince's officials to bring some order into the situation and thereby increase the royal revenue; there is no doubt that the prohibition was being circumvented and it is worth noting that although there are many tir prid conveyances from Whitford among the Mostyn muniments at this period, they are in the minority. This suggests that the situation may have been getting out of hand and the reference to licences

174. Waters, Edwardian Settlement, p. 159.

175. B.P.R. III, p. 318; for a general discussion of the topic see J. Beverley Smith, 'Crown and community in the principality of North Wales in the reign of Henry Tudor' in W.H.R., III, ii (1966), pp. 147-9.

176. J. B. Smith, Op. cit., pp. 148-9, citing P.R.O. E163/4/47, m. 12.

177. B.P.R. III, p. 44.

178. Ibid., p. 167.

may indicate an attempt to come to terms with evasions of a ban which had become unenforceable; some profit, at least, was to be had from the grant of licences to alienate and purchase. But the problem had still not been solved and in 1358 the men of Englefield were allowed to make fine of 1,200 marks for all their unlicensed acquisitions since the conquest;¹⁷⁹ it was reported a year later that the Welsh of Englefield and Hopedale had made fine of £400 for the right to buy and sell land.¹⁸⁰

The great age of estate-building is generally taken to have been the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and few examples of the process in fourteenth-century Wales have hitherto been found. From Flintshire there is very little among the Bodrhyddan papers at Bangor and although the Gwysaney deeds at Aberystwyth contain a number of fourteenth-century documents, they seem largely to be evidences of title obtained with later purchases; the same is also true of the Bettisfield (Hammer) muniments in the National Library. A considerable amount of work has been done on the accumulation of estates in North Wales and two, Penrhyn and Clenennau, have been examined in detail.¹⁸¹ Much of the former was based on the possessions of Gruffydd ap Tudur ap Madog who had built up a considerable estate in Flintshire, Caernarvonshire, and Anglesey by 1310;¹⁸² it passed to Gwilym ap Gruffydd ap Heilin, the founder of the Penrhyn family fortunes, by marriage and his grandson, Gwilym ap Gruffydd ap Gwilym, had accumulated a considerable estate by 1413, partly through his acquisition of most of the lands of his Tudor kinsmen of Penmynydd who had failed to change sides with his dexterity during the Glyn Dwr revolt.¹⁸³ Gwilym has been described as the first major Welsh landowner whose estates were based on purchase rather than on inheritance, but Tudur ap Ithel Fychan was certainly building up his estate in the same way in the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁸⁴ The rise of

179. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

180. P.R.O. S.C.6/1186/17.

181. J. R. Jones, 'The development of the Penrhyn estate up to 1431' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1955); T. Jones Pierce, Clenennau Letters and Papers in the Brogyntyn Collection (1947), introduction.

182. J. R. Jones, Op. cit., p. 39; Bywgraffiadur, II, p. 95.

183. Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 206-12.

184. J. R. Jones, Op. cit., pp. 165-6.

Clenennau began in the mid-fifteenth century, after which there was a gradual consolidation of scattered lands and of the interests of various kinsmen; the origin of the estate, however, lay in clan lands in the area.¹⁸⁵ It has been suggested that four main types of freehold estate developed in Wales, namely that which originated in the acquisition of lands outside the English plantation boroughs by non-Welsh families, the privileged estate founded by members of the Welsh official class, the clanland estate of hereditary origin which expanded outwards from the original clan lands and the clanland estate of non-hereditary origin which resulted from the acquisition of clan holdings by an outsider anxious to build up an estate of his own.¹⁸⁶ Typical of the first category was the estate of the Bulkeleyes of Baron Hill; Penrhyn fits, to some degree anyway, into the second group and Clenennau, along with Peniarth in Merioneth, into the third, and while it is difficult to know to what extent the tenurial structure in Englefield in general and Whitford in particular was similar to that which prevailed in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey, Tudur's estate seems to fit into the fourth category.

What is important about Tudur's purchases is that they are the earliest example so far known of land purchase on a large scale and the fact that many of the deeds are not prid conveyances shows the extent to which, in Flintshire at least, the restrictions on alienation were being ignored. On the evidence of the deeds which give financial details he spent nearly £60 on land between about 1330 and 1360 and since the consideration is not stated in more than half of them he may well have spent more than twice this sum. Tudur must have invested all his available cash in land; one does not usually think of the medieval uchelwr as having large sums of ready cash at his disposal, but there must have been a considerable amount of money in circulation. In the light of the bids that were made for the farm of offices, the heavy fines imposed on the sons of Ithel Fychan in 1341, and the fact that Cynwrig Sais of Northop had £120 in cash in addition

185. T. Jones Pierce, Clenennau Letters and Papers, pp. viii-xv.

186. T. Jones Pierce, 'Landlords in Wales: the nobility and gentry' in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV (1967), pp. 372-6.

to extensive lands and a good deal of portable property when he died, it is obvious that the uchelwyr of Flintshire were very far from being poor men.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, the level of conspicuous consumption reflected in the poetry of the following century indicates a prosperous way of life; while most food was probably home produce, the houses of uchelwyr were well appointed and there was no shortage of exotic dishes or spices.¹⁸⁸ But little light can be shed on the nature of the income of these men and there is, unfortunately, very little information available about estate management in medieval Wales. An estate scattered over several townships was not easy to administer, especially when many of its components were strips in open fields and it would be interesting to know whether a landowner like Tudur leased any of his lands and to what extent his income came from rents; in 1413 Gwilym ap Gruffydd of Penrhyn was drawing an annual income of at least £112 from his lands in Anglesey and Caernarvonshire.¹⁸⁹ It is possible that purchasers sometimes leased lands back to the vendors but the medieval leases which have survived are too scarce to provide an adequate sample. Office was a source of profit for many but of Tudur's brothers only Cynwrig Sais made his money this way. But one thing is certain; by his purchases in Whitford in particular Tudur ap Ithel Fychan laid the foundations of the Mostyn estate and, on the evidence of the surviving Mostyn deeds, there was to be no accumulation of lands on a comparable scale until the first decade of the seventeenth century. On this evidence, too, he was one of the first to build up a sizeable estate other than by inheritance or marriage.

Tudur's wife was Erddylad, daughter of Madog ap Llywelyn ap Gruffydd of Eutun.¹⁹⁰ He had at least two sons, Dafydd and Hywel, but there is no record of who was the elder. The first reference to Dafydd is in 1358 when a shirt was stolen from him;¹⁹¹ he was a cleric and by 1372 was parson of Caerwys.¹⁹² Hywel

187. C. R. Williams, Op. cit., pp. 99-100; for the property of Cynwrig Sais, who died in 1311, see P.R.O. Chester 30/5, m. 13b.

188. For a discussion of this point see W. Ambrose Bebb, Machlud yr Oesoedd Canol (1951), pp. 38-49.

189. U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 1599.

190. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 192; for a brief mention of her family see R. R. Davies in Trans. Cymm. 1968, p. 156.

191. P.R.O. Chester 19/8, m. 31.

192. P.R.O. Chester 30/11, m. 20a.

first appears in the judicial records of the county in 1369;¹⁹³ he was involved in a good deal of litigation and also appeared from time to time as a surety.¹⁹⁴ In 1379 he was coroner of Englefield;¹⁹⁵ this was merely the first of a number of offices and farms which he held on various occasions. In September, 1386, he was granted letters of protection on his departure for the coast 'to stay there for the defence of the realm' along with another Flintshire gentleman, Ithel ap Bleddyn;¹⁹⁶ this was in connection with the army raised to resist a threatened French invasion in that year and it was this threat which led to the summoning of the 'Marvellous' parliament and the fall of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk.¹⁹⁷ On 16 October, 1386, orders were given for the payment of wages to a number of Welsh captains and their men for their service and these included Hywel, who was accompanied by 20 archers, Ithel ap Bleddyn, and Ithel Nbel ap Dafydd ab Ithel Person, as well as Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudur who led the Caernarvonshire levies.¹⁹⁸ Hywel and John de Helegh were appointed stewards of the manor of Mostyn at an annual farm of 10 marks each in March, 1387;¹⁹⁹ this is the first connection of the family with the manor and in October, 1388, it was leased to Hywel and Sir Gregory Sais at an annual farm of 22 marks.²⁰⁰ The lease was renewed for ten years at the same farm in March, 1390, and Hywel continued to hold it after Sir Gregory's death later that year until it was granted to John Leche, the king's surgeon, in 1391.²⁰¹ In 1388-9 Hywel and Sir Gregory were also farming the pleas and perquisites of the courts of the borough of Caerwys at 100s. annually;²⁰² Hywel was still paying the same farm in 1394-5 with another £6 for the mill but on 7 March, 1396, Caerwys was granted by letters patent to Maredudd ap Rhys, Bleddyn and Heilin ap Gruffydd Ddu, and Ithel ap

193. P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 6b.

194. In 1373, for example, Hywel and Dafydd were sureties for Ieuan ap Bleddyn to keep the peace towards the men of Flintshire (P.R.O. Chester 30/11, m. 24a).

195. P.R.O. Chester 30/12, m. 22b.

196. C.R.R. I., p. 260.

197. M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (1959), pp. 442-5.

198. F. Devon, ed., *Issues of the Exchequer* (1837), p. 231.

199. C.R.R. I, p. 353; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/3.

200. C.R.R. I, p. 353.

201. C.R.R. I, p. 261; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/7; C.P.R. 1388-92, p. 456.

202. P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/4.

Iorwerth Fychan for ten years at the same farm.²⁰³ The arrears due from Hywel after his tenure amounted to £29. 11s. 8d.

The highest office attained by Hywel was that of sheriff of Flintshire and rhaflaw of Englefield to which he was appointed in July, 1390, although he seems to have held it from Michaelmas, 1389;²⁰⁴ a week after the formal appointment, however, Sir John Goloffre was appointed to the same office, actually succeeding Hywel on 1 September, 1390.²⁰⁵ Hywel's arrears on vacating these offices were £79. 15s. 5½d. and this sum was gradually paid off, being down to 4s. 10½d. in 1395-6.²⁰⁶ The mill of Ilinegr was leased to him in April, 1388, for twelve years at an annual rent of 10s;²⁰⁷ the lease expired in 1398 but in 1400 it was renewed for a similar term but at an increased annual rent of 13s. 4d.²⁰⁸ In October, 1390, he had been appointed collector of the debts of Lawrence Child, late bishop of St. Asaph, who died in 1389 and in June, 1399, he and others were petitioning for pardon under the statute of Shrewsbury of 1398;²⁰⁹ this was, presumably, the general pardon promulgated at the end of the Shrewsbury parliament which was the last of Richard II's reign and one chronicle states that all previous pardons had to be renewed at a high price.²¹⁰ Finally, in December, 1401, Hywel, Dafydd Whitmore, and Morgan le Yonge were appointed to enquire whether John Lestrange had created an entail on his lordship of Maelor Saesneg and whether the conditions he laid down had been performed.²¹¹ There is at least one reference to Hywel holding office outside Flintshire; in 1397-8 he paid 40s. arrears of his farm of the amobr of the commote of Uwch Dulas in the lordship of Denbigh the previous year.²¹²

All this evidence shows that Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan was a man of

203. P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/13; 1190/1.

204. C.R.R. I, p. 184; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/5.

205. C.R.R. I, p. 184; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/5.

206. P.R.O. S.C.6/1190/1.

207. C.R.R. I, p. 478; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/3.

208. P.R.O. S.C. 6/1190/6, 9.

209. C.R.R. I, p. 9; Le Neve, Fasti XI, p. 38; C.R.R. I, p. 261.

210. A. Steel, Richard II (1941), p. 241; M. McKisack, Op. cit., p. 486.

211. C.R.R. I, p. 456.

212. P.R.O. S.C.6/1184/23.

some standing in Flintshire; indeed, an assessment of the value of the estates of Flintshire rebels made during the Glyn Dwr revolt shows him to have been three times wealthier than any of his fellow landowners and his lands were valued at £30 annually.²¹³ Like his father he added to his possessions by purchase, if not on the same scale, although it is clear that not all the deeds in which he was a party have survived; in fact there are only six of them, covering the period 1379-1402 and relating to lands in Bagillt, Bychton, and Whitford. There are, however, a few references on the plea rolls and in escheators' accounts to Hywel buying and selling land.²¹⁴

Hywel was the head of the family during the Glyn Dwr revolt and with his background and wealth it was inevitable that he should have been involved. In the second half of the fourteenth century it is possible to see the gradual build-up of the forces which contributed to the outbreak of the revolt in 1400 and as Flintshire is the best-documented of the Welsh counties these developments can sometimes be seen more clearly than elsewhere. Even the Flintshire records are not perfect; full and detailed as the archives of the Palatinate of Chester are, the complete register of the Black Prince and his council is lacking (the existing registers end in 1365) and there is no corresponding source for the reign of Richard II. But certain generalisations can be made; it was a time of increasing economic hardship made worse by the slump which followed the Black Death and a time, too, when the grip of the uchelwyr on local power was beginning to be felt and when some of them at least were beginning to flex their muscles. The hand of governmental authority, whether at Chester or Caernarvon, was less in evidence, even during the period before the revolt, and there seems to have been an increasing tendency to concentrate on the collection of the royal revenue, often by the farming of offices, leaving their execution and the

213. R. R. Davies, 'Owain Glyn Dwr and the Welsh squirearchy' in Trans. Cymm., 1968, p. 157, n. 27; P.R.O. Chester 25/25, m. 1b (not 25/26 as stated by Davies).

214. In March, 1372, he made fine of £10. 10s. for the lands in Whitford Garn formerly of Ieuan ap Cynwrig ap Ieuan, felon and fugitive (P.R.O. Chester 30/11, m. 18b) and in 1380-1 the escheator accounted for the issues of a messuage in Mostyn which Dafydd and Hywel had sold without licence (P.R.O. S.C.6/1188/8).

maintenance of order in the hands of the leaders of local society, both English and Welsh.

It is against this background that the remainder of Hywel's activities before the revolt have to be considered; they reflect the gradual decline of law and order and the increase in the power and pretensions of the uchelwyr. The first episode in which he was involved was at Rhuddlan on 22 October, 1369.²¹⁵ On that day two Welshmen were to appear before the mayor and bailiffs of the town to answer charges of assaulting the borough toll-collector and another burgess; they came to the court to surrender to their bail wearing jacks and habergeons and accompanied by many others, 54 of whom are named in the indictment. These included Hywel, along with his cousins Dafydd ap Ithel Person (with his sons Rhys Wym and Tudur), Cynwrig ap Ieuan ap Ithel Fychan, and Bleddyn Fychan ap Dafydd ap Ithel Fychan and various other members of prominent families in the county. When the court sought to attach the two defendants they were rescued and the mayor was attacked by the assembly with swords, bows, arrows, poleaxes and clubs; there was also an attempt to set fire to the town. This incident shows how respect for law and order was limited by the interests of the leading Welshmen of the county; it is also a further indication of the unpopularity of the castle boroughs and the resentment caused by the summoning of a Welsh freeholder before one of their courts. As in most indictments, there is probably an element of exaggeration here but it brings out the mutual hostility of English borough and Welsh hinterland, a hostility less racial, perhaps, than the result of incompatible rights and privileges bestowed on both parties by different charters.

An inquisition taken on 15 December, 1371, reveals a measure of oppression by the uchelwyr of Englefield of their neighbours under the pretence of taking 'commortha' or cymorth, a practice forbidden by Edward I and which was to be forbidden again in one of the penal statutes of 1402.²¹⁶ This was a well-established practice, being a recognised tribute to the lord in some lordships

215. P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 6b.

216. P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 7b; Bowen, Statutes, p. 34.

and a voluntary benevolence to aid less fortunate neighbours or for general mutual aid elsewhere.²¹⁷ Such a custom could all too easily become a form of extortion and despite a further prohibition in 1534 it continued to be so in many areas during the sixteenth century;²¹⁸ this was certainly the case in Englefield during the second half of the fourteenth century. On 28 September, 1370, Hywel's brother Dafydd had taken corn to the value of 33s. 2d. from various individuals in Northop, Caerfallwch, Wepre, Leadbrook Fechan, and Golffryn and from the community of Northop parish under the guise of cymorth, while Hywel himself, with his cousin Dafydd ap Bleddyn ap Ithel Fychan, had taken corn from several inhabitants of Whitford on the same day. They were not the only offenders and there was nothing new about the offence; similar things had gone on in the days of Cynwrig Sais and his son Ithel.²¹⁹ There is a reference to a similar levy from the cantref in an inquisition taken on 30 May, 1379;²²⁰ this relates to the collection of money to pay for two men to prosecute the burgesses and nullify the liberties of the English towns of Englefield, in spite of a proclamation made before the justice that no man was entitled to take any subsidy from the community without the royal licence. The levy seems to have been a penny a head and Hywel was among those who contributed; the episode shows that the fight to destroy the privileges of the boroughs was not yet over.²²¹

In these earlier incidents Hywel was merely one of a number of uchelwyr but in 1391 he was the leader in an episode which shows the power of this class and the extent to which law and order were deteriorating during the decade preceding the outbreak of the Glyn Dwr revolt.²²² An inquisition held on 18 September found that on 30 March of the same year Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel with his cousin Dafydd ap Bleddyn ap Ithel, Ithel ap Cynwrig ap Ieuan, and various others, along

217. G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales (1964), p. 27.

218. Bowen, Statutes, p. 57; for 16th-century examples see G. Dyfnallt Owen, Op. cit., pp. 27-8.

219. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 2b (Cynwrig Sais); B.P.R. III, p. 318 (Ithel ap Cynwrig).

220. P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 17a.

221. For earlier examples of attempted action against the boroughs see note 162 above.

222. P.R.O. Chester 30/15, m. 2a; Chester 25/24, m. 25a (indictment).

with 100 archers from Flintshire, 80 from Caernarvonshire, 200 from Denbigh, 60 from Bromfield and Yale, and 20 from Dyffryn Clwyd, had attacked Dafydd ap Maruret ferch Cynwrig, who was under the king's protection in Northop, invaded and despoiled his lands in Northop and Sychtyn, and seized them; they were still there when the inquisition was taken, having also stolen Dafydd's crops and inflicted damage estimated at 100 marks. Dafydd, otherwise known as Dafydd Whitmore or Dafydd ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan, was a prominent figure in the county in addition to being Hywel's cousin; the fact that he was usually described by his matronymic or his nickname shows that, since his father was a cleric, he was regarded by the authorities as illegitimate.²²³ No reason is given for the attack but the key could lie in the relationship of Hywel and Dafydd which might suggest a disputed inheritance. The incident does show the influence which a leading uchelwr could exert in his locality; even when the exaggeration common to most medieval complaints is taken into account, it needed no small amount of authority to draw a private army from all over North Wales to intimidate an opponent. It also illustrates the way in which the appointment of members of this class to office ensured the maintenance of some sort of order as long as they remained on good terms with the government.²²⁴ In fact, there was often little that the government could do if they did not; there is certainly no evidence in the plea rolls of any action against Hywel and his companions. There is, however, a reference on the mainprise roll; on 9 December, 1390, Hywel, Dafydd ap Bleddyn ab Ithel, and Ithel ap Cynwrig ab Ieuan were ordered to attend the next sessions and in the meantime they were bound over in the sum of £1,000 to behave towards Deicws Whitmore and his men.²²⁵ Deicws Whitmore was similarly bound over in £200 to behave himself towards Hywel and the others. This certainly suggests that trouble was brewing before the attack, whatever the reason for it might have been.

223. The indictment does, in fact, refer to him holding his land by licence of the Black Prince and the licence may have been on account of his illegitimacy which was, of course, a bar to a share in the inheritance.

224. This particular case is quoted and its general significance discussed in this context by R. R. Davies, In Trans. Cymm., 1968, pp. 167-8.

225. P.R.O. Chester 26/24, 9 December, 1390.

Another inquisition, taken on 13 December, 1395, describes an incident at the justice's sessions at Flint on 16 June, 1394.²²⁶ On this occasion many of the leading Welshmen of Englefield broke up the proceedings, drawing their weapons and refusing to allow a royal mandate to be read; they also threatened to kill the deputy-justice and later the same day, when the justice was holding the court, they trampled on the court rolls and tore them up and tried to do the same to the under-sheriff. This display of contempt of court culminated in the overturning of the seat of the justice himself. Once again, there is no record of what lay behind this incident but it is clear that the uchelwyr of Englefield were showing less and less respect for royal government and for the highest court as the fourteenth century drew to its close. Hywel was the leader of the rioters, described in the indictment as rebels, and another 28 are named; they included several of his close kinsmen, among them his former opponent Dafydd Whitmore and numerous sons of men who had held offices, farmers of royal interests, and even former sheriffs. John de Helegh, the under-sheriff involved, had been Hywel's colleague as steward of Mostyn a few years earlier.²²⁷ It is clear from the record that the leading men of Englefield made a violent demonstration at a meeting of the principal organ of royal administration and justice; what is not clear is why this demonstration should have occurred. But, although no reference to the episode appears on the plea roll, Hywel and his friends had obviously gone too far on this occasion. The close roll bears an order, dated 18 May, 1396, to the constable of the Tower of London and his lieutenant to receive Hywel ap Tudur, Dafydd Whitmore, and ten others from whoever delivered them and to keep them in custody in the Tower until further notice.²²⁸ They were times when even the greatest men in any county had to be shown that there was a limit to the extent to which they could ignore royal authority.

226. P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 26a.

227. C.R.R. I, p. 353.

228. C.C.R., 1392-1396, p. 465.

The fact that many of these indictments were not followed by action at the sessions was probably due to an increasing tendency to reserve the more important cases for the decision of the prince's council.²²⁹ The surviving volumes of the Black Prince's register show how closely this council supervised the administration of the prince's lands and it would be safe to assume that the process continued under Richard II. The plea rolls gradually become less informative, although the indictment rolls still give plenty of information, and after the revolt they become more and more formal and deal more and more with civil actions; serious matters, especially those involving the gentry, were dealt with elsewhere. But the records do show that the leaders of Welsh society were increasingly inclined to take an independent line and this is the background against which the revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr must be considered. Not only is there more evidence from the county than from any other part of Wales but there is also a detailed study of the course of the revolt in Flintshire available.²³⁰

Many of the uchelwyr, not merely in Flintshire but throughout the royal lands in Wales, were the descendants of men who had given loyal service to Edward I and Edward II but a change of attitude seems to have begun under Edward III.²³¹ Disillusion seems gradually to have developed into active opposition in many cases, and from 1369 onwards, if not earlier, there was an alternative focus for their loyalty in the person of Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri, the last heir of Gwynedd. More information about his movement is available from Flintshire than from any other part of Wales and this information shows that the threat from Owain was far more serious than has generally been assumed and that at least one highly-placed Welshman in the county was deeply implicated. This was Rhys ap Roppert, whose tyrannical behaviour as sheriff has already been discussed and whose interests extended all over North Wales; two of his sons, Ieuan and Madog, were with Owain in France and there is reason to suspect that

229. F.M.A., 1328-53, p. xvii.

230. J. E. Messham, 'The county of Flint and the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr in the records of the earldom of Chester' in Jnl. Flints. Hist. Soc., XXIII (1967-8), pp. 1-34.

231. Glyn Roberts, 'Wyrion Eden', in Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 195-6.

Ieuan was the Ieuan Wyn known as 'Poursuivant d'Amour' who was Owain's lieutenant.²³² An inquisition taken at Flint on 20 December, 1372, returned that Ieuan was a traitor in the company of 'Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri, nicknamed Owain Lawgoch' in France and that Rhys had sent him sums of money totalling 600 marks during the previous six years.²³³ A further inquisition on 25 September, 1374, found that Rhys and Madog had received treasonable letters from Owain and Ieuan, brought from France by a monk of Aberconwy, that money had been sent and that Madog had gone to France.²³⁴ Rhys ap Roppert was the father-in-law of Hywel ap Tudur ab Ithel Fychan and Ieuan and Madog were therefore brothers-in-law. There is no evidence of Hywel's involvement in the movement but the close relationship in which he stood to some of its leaders may be significant. In the same way the activities of Rhys must lead one to suspect the complicity of his Anglesey kinsmen.²³⁵

Hywel's activities show how a powerful uchelwr with his plaid or retinue of kinsmen and dependants at his back could override the king's peace in the pursuit of his own interests.²³⁶ It was with his plaid that he bullied Dafydd Whitmore in 1391 and created a disturbance at the sessions in 1394. He was only one example; every squire of note must have had his plaid and used it when necessary to get his own way and it must have been the pleidiau of individual leaders that formed a large part of Glyn Dŵr's armies. The revolt has often been

232. The standard account of Owain's career is Edward Owen, 'Owain Lawgoch - Yeuain de Galles' in Trans. Cymm., 1899-1900, pp. 6-105; for an account using French sources see T. M. Chotzen, Recherches sur la Poésie de Dafydd ap Gwilym (Amsterdam, 1927), pp. 131-9.

233. P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 8a.

234. P.R.O. Chester 25/24, m. 10b.

235. Euryds Rowlands, 'Nodiadau ar y traddodiad moliant a'r cywydd' in Llên Cymru, VII, iii-iv (1963), p. 235 and n. 47. There is no evidence of Rhys ap Roppert having suffered on account of the activities of which he was accused; he died a wealthy man on 19 September, 1377 (P.R.O. Chester 38/25/3, m. 61b).

236. The plaid is defined by R. R. Davies in Trans. Cymm., 1968, p. 167, as 'a group of supporters who obeyed his every command, a band of people who were bound to him by ties of reward or tenancy or patronage or social pressure'.

taken to have been in part the result of resentment at the fall of Richard II who is said to have been popular in Wales, but there is no real evidence of this popularity although two of the Tudor brothers had been in his service; he found no support in North Wales when he returned from Ireland in 1399 and was forced to surrender at Flint.²³⁷ There is, moreover, no evidence of support for Richard in Flintshire, although Cheshire was the recruiting ground for his bodyguard and was granted the status of a principality as the reward for its loyalty.²³⁸ It is hard to tell how far events in Cheshire affected what was, in effect, a Welsh extension of the earldom. There was a rising in Cheshire in 1393, possibly directed against the king's uncle Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed justice of Chester and North Wales in 1389;²³⁹ there had been constant disorders since his appointment, but whether the disturbances in Flintshire in the 1390s had any connection with these events or whether they were merely the outward and visible signs of a struggle for local power in which Hywel was engaged is difficult to say. There is no evidence of Welsh participation in the battle of Radcot Bridge in 1388 when Richard was defeated by the Appellants and when the men of Cheshire rebelled against the new king early in 1400 they do not seem to have drawn any support from Wales although the sheriff of Flintshire accounted in 1399-1400 for the wages of six archers kept in Flint castle from February to April, 1400, 'to resist the malice of the Welsh of North Wales and others from Cheshire then insurgent against their allegiance'.²⁴⁰ This may point to trouble in North Wales; on the other hand it may signify no more than a precaution to prevent the Cheshire contagion from spreading over the border. The first wave of revolt in 1400 included attacks on the castles and boroughs of Englefield but the attacks were beaten off and there is no record of local Welshmen being involved although a general pardon was issued in March, 1401.²⁴¹ Hywel was still in good standing with the authorities

237. Glanmor Williams, Owen Glendower (1966), pp. 22-3.

238. C. R. Williams, History of Flintshire, I, pp. 104-5.

239. A. Steel, Richard II, pp. 201-2.

240. P.R.O. S.C.6/1190/7.

241. J. E. Messham, Op. cit., p. 3.

the following December when he was one of the commissioners investigating the Lestrangle enfeoffment.²⁴²

Thus the early stages of the revolt seem to have passed the county by. There does appear to have been some restlessness in 1401 but there is no record of any serious trouble.²⁴³ The first real blow struck by the rebels was the burning of Hope in February, 1403, and Englefield soon seemed in danger too; on 14 June, 1403, four men from each of the three commotes were commissioned to appoint watches in the most suitable places and keep order against the coming of the rebels who were in the marches of the county.²⁴⁴ Those appointed for Coleshill were Hywel, his cousin Dafydd ap Bleddyn, Rhys Wyn, who was the son of another cousin, and Gruffydd ap Cynwrig ap Bleddyn; eleven of the twelve appointed for the cantref were to join the revolt.²⁴⁵ The commissions show how far the government depended on the leaders of Welsh society for the defence of the county and the maintenance of order;²⁴⁶ if this line broke and the uchelwyr went over to Owain, all would be lost. Some attempts were made in other parts of Wales to hold them to their allegiance but these had little effect in the long run.²⁴⁷ There were complaints by the prince's council that Cheshire and Flintshire men were trading with the rebels.²⁴⁸ And then, on 9 July, 1403, Henry Percy, better known as Hotspur, the justice of Chester and North Wales, came to Chester and declared himself in revolt against Henry IV. Now the Welsh of Flintshire did begin to take part; there is evidence of collusion between Percy and Glyn Dwr.²⁴⁹ The revolt lasted less than a fortnight; at Shrewsbury on 21 July Hotspur and many of his followers were defeated and killed, among them being two of Hywel's

242. C.R.R. I, p. 456.

243. J. E. Messham, Op. cit., pp. 3-6.

244. C.R.R. I, p. 261.

245. R. R. Davies, Op. cit., pp. 160-1.

246. J. E. Messham, Op. cit., p. 8.

247. For example, in the lordship of Cydweli in 1401 seventeen of the leading men of the commote of Iscennen were bound in the sum of 10,000 marks that no one from the commote would join the revolt. (R. R. Davies, Op. cit., p. 160).

248. J. E. Messham, Op. cit., p. 8.

249. Ibid., pp. 8-11. Hotspur's handling of the Tudor brothers' capture of Conway castle in 1401 gave rise to some suspicion and attention has been drawn to the presence of the Percy emblem on the tomb of Goronwy ap Tudur (d. 1382), now in Penmynydd church (J. E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower, pp. 37-8; Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, p. 201 n.).

close kinsmen, Dafydd ap Eleddyn ab Ithel Fychan and Rhys Wyn ap Dafydd ab Ithel Person.²⁵⁰ In 1409 Dafydd's lands in Flintshire and Caernarvonshire were granted to Nicholas Saxton, later constable of Rhuddlan.²⁵¹

Whatever the connection between Hotspur and Glyn Dŵr, it is certain that the men of Flintshire were in revolt in the summer of 1403 and they remained in rebellion for the next three years.²⁵² Hywel and his fellow-uchelwyr were definitely involved in what had become an organised national rising. An inquisition taken at Flint on 8 April, 1407, presented that a large number of clerics and laymen from the county, 77 in all, including Hywel and his son Ithel had

made war and rebelled against the king and the prince, to kill them and to destroy the English language by their power and replace it with the Welsh language, saying that the said Owain should be king of England and prince of Wales by right ...²⁵³

They had also committed various burnings, lootings and murders. There are a number of other indictments on the roll, along with the valuation of the lands of those indicted, of whom Hywel was the wealthiest. The community of the county had made fine of 1,000 marks to purge their rebellion on 31 March, 1407, and they may have submitted the previous August;²⁵⁴ the purpose of the inquisition taken on 8 April was therefore to find out who was still in rebellion, presumably by comparing it with the lists of those who had submitted.²⁵⁵ Ithel was among those who made their peace, but not Hywel; both, however, were included in a list of those wanted men who were to be arrested by the sheriff, enrolled at the sessions held on 9 December, 1407.²⁵⁶ And on 12 September the prince issued letters of protection to Hywel ap Tudur 'coming from Flint to Chester with a servant and two horses to speak with the council of the prince;²⁵⁷ the

250. J. E. Messham, Op. cit., p. 11.

251. C.R.R. I, p. 422.

252. The course of the revolt in the county is described by J. E. Messham, Op. cit., pp. 11-23.

253. P.R.O. Chester 25/25, m. 1a, printed in J. E. Messham, Op. cit., pp. 32-3.

254. P.R.O. Chester 25/25, m. 2a; J. E. Messham, Op. cit., pp. 21-2.

255. J. E. Messham, Op. cit., p. 12.

256. P.R.O. Chester 30/17, m. 2b.

257. C.R.R. I, p. 479.

following December sureties were given for Hywel to appear at the next sessions at Flint to receive judgement for his rebellion. He subsequently failed to pay his fine and was outlawed, but on 8 March, 1409, Ithel made fine of £20 for the lands of his father Hywel, 'outlaw', and his mother Lleucu ferch Rhys ap Roppert;²⁵⁸ £16. 13s. 4d. of the fine was later respited and Ithel got the lands back.²⁵⁹ A formal pardon was granted to him on 4 November, 1409.²⁶⁰

A number of inquisitions into the possessions of rebels were taken in the autumn of 1406. That for the commote of Prestatyn was taken on 2 October and it found that Hywel held a total of four tenements and 18 acres, worth 8d. annually, in Cwybr, Brynhedydd, Dunys and Trecastell.²⁶¹ The Coleshill inquisition, taken at Holywell on 10 November, found that he held nine tenements, one messuage and 67 acres of the annual value of 12d. in Cilcain, Leadbrook, Bagillt, Whitford and Mostyn.²⁶² No property was recorded in Rhuddlan commote but in the borough of Caerwys he had four burgages and seven acres, worth 4d.²⁶³ Of course, these figures are a gross understatement; Hywel's possessions amounted to a great deal more than this and were worth much more, which leads one to wonder whether the jurors were making a deliberate attempt to minimise the value of these estates with a view to the eventual outcome of the revolt or, at least, to a possible reconciliation in the future. Many men must have backed both horses, just as many changed sides at the most opportune moment.²⁶⁴ The inquisitions give the names of a great many other participants and show that many of Hywel's kinsmen were involved. One of the most prominent was Hywel Gwynedd, son of Hywel's

258. J. E. Messham, Op. cit., p. 26, n. 7; P.R.O. Chester 30/17, m. 10a.

259. P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/7.

260. P.R.O. Chester 30/17, m. 12a.

261. P.R.O. Chester 3/23/9.

262. P.R.O. Chester 3/23/10.

263. P.R.O. Chester 3/23/11, 12.

264. A case in point is that of Ieuan ap Maredudd ap Gruffydd of Hopedale and Dafydd Whitmore who, in 1405, reported to Sir John Stanley that they had been summoned by Owain, along with four men from each commote in Wales, to a parliament at Harlech, that they proposed to attend and that they would report on their return (J. E. Messham, Op. cit., p. 21; Lloyd, Owen Glendower, p. 101).

cousin Dafydd ap Bleddyn ap Ithel Fychan who was killed at Shrewsbury; the cognomen suggests that he might have been illegitimate. He is said to have used a camp on Moel y Gaer, Halkyn, as his base and to have terrorised the burgesses of Flint who eventually sallied forth and beheaded him there.²⁶⁵ According to the inquisitions he had lands in Halkyn, Coed-y-cra, Bagillt, Mertyn, and Maenefa amounting to 105 acres and had earlier seized the escheated lands of his father.²⁶⁶

After 1406, therefore, the revolt in Flintshire gradually petered out and more and more men made their peace. But two important questions remain: what was the part played by families like that of Mostyn and what impelled them to join? Men like Hywel ap Tudur were the heads of families which had either been predominant in their localities for generations or which had recently emerged as a result of their acquisition of landed wealth. They were not poor men and with their good blood or bonedd went a comfortable economic position if not wealth. They were conscious of being a class and extensive intermarriage meant that by the time of the revolt they formed a close-knit group, each one being at the centre of a web of family connections and obligations, and this closeness often led them to the side of Glyn Dŵr. Not only the Tudors, but also the families of Mostyn and Pengwern were related to him and to each other by marriages in earlier generations. The ties of kinship were strong; so, too, were those of patronage and where a local magnate led, his kinsmen, tenants, and dependants were sure to follow. The result was that the involvement of the uchelwyr in the revolt meant the involvement of most of Wales.²⁶⁷ The revolt had other aspects of course; it was, in part, a social and economic movement, as were contemporary uprisings elsewhere in Europe, it had messianic overtones, and at a later stage it came to be a fully-fledged national movement. But it was the uchelwyr, the natural leaders of society, who were the motive force and they brought with them not only their own influence and prestige but also a fund of military skill and experience

265. His career is discussed by J. E. Messham, Op. cit., pp. 16-7, 21.

266. P.R.O. Chester 3/23/10, 12; C.R.R. I, p. 236.

267. These points are discussed in detail by R. R. Davies, Op. cit.

gained in France and Scotland. The second question is less easily answered; surviving evidence about Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri does suggest an earlier conspiracy. Leading Welshmen, both clerical and lay, felt that they had lost their place in the sun; this is particularly true of the former after the grip of Edward III and the Black Prince on the church had tightened. The leaders of society had been alienated; Edward I's successors lacked his wisdom and tact and were ignoring them and not granting them the local offices which they felt were theirs by right and which, by their social position, they were more competent to fill than anyone else.²⁶⁸ A resort to arms in such circumstances could not be out of the question. And there may have been a degree of disillusion with the house of Plantagenet and a feeling, fanned by some of the bards, that the restoration of a Welsh dynasty was a possibility.

There is no record of the date of Hywel's death. His wife was Lleucu, daughter of Rhys ap Roppert; here both record and pedigree are in agreement.²⁶⁹ Only two children, a daughter Angharad and a son Ithel, can be traced. Little is known of Ithel. In 1404 he conveyed half a burgage in Caerwys to Einion ap Ithel and ten years later he conveyed a whole one in the same town to Ieuan ap Ithel ap Iorwerth Fychan.²⁷⁰ In 1409 he made fine for his father's lands after the Glyn Dwr revolt.²⁷¹ He appears to have been granted the farm of Mostyn in 1411 for four years and he was still farming it in 1417 when his lease came to an end.²⁷² Under the terms of his grant, which farmed Mostyn to him at 20 marks annually, the crown was to have the profits of the coal mines but he was to have a reasonable amount of coal for his own domestic use.²⁷³ In 1417, too, John de Hokes was granted a licence to buy Leadbrook from him, but he does not appear in the records after this year.²⁷⁴ He must have predeceased his

268. These questions are discussed briefly by Glanmor Williams, Owen Glendower, pp. 14-7; see also R. R. Davies, Op. cit.

269. P.R.O. Chester 30/17, m. 10a; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 184.

270. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2009-10.

271. P.R.O. Chester 30/17, m. 10a. The entry on the plea roll refers to Lleucu as Ithel's mother.

272. P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/11, 1192/1.

273. P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/11; for a discussion of medieval coal-mining in Flintshire see W. Rees, Industry before the Industrial Revolution (1968), I, pp. 35, 70-1.

274. C.R.R. II, p. 367.

sister since she took the inheritance with her to Ieuan Fychan. Some pedigrees suggest that Ieuan was Angharad's second husband, her first being Edmund or Edward Stanley by whom she had a daughter Jonet who married John Conway of Bodrhyddan, but this is chronologically impossible.²⁷⁵ There is among the Mostyn papers at Bangor a deed of feoffment dated 3 February, 1389, whereby Hywel conveyed to Angharad his mansion house called Yr hen hall de Moston and all his property in the townships of Mostyn, Bychton, Whitford Garn, Tre'r Llan, Tre'r Abad, Trefednywain, and elsewhere in Whitford parish;²⁷⁶ all the parcels are named and they amount to more than 120 properties, comprising both closes and holdings in open fields. However, the authenticity of this document is extremely suspect on palaeographical, diplomatic, and linguistic grounds and it would not be safe to use it as evidence for the purposes of this study.²⁷⁷

The last years of the Mostyn family before its union with the Pengwern line are not well-documented. All that can be said from record evidence is that Ithel appeared for the last time in 1417 while Ieuan Fychan's first appearance in Flintshire was in 1432 when he leased Mostyn for the first time from queen Katherine.²⁷⁸ One could therefore postulate the death of Ithel some time between these two dates, perhaps without direct heirs; if this were so his lands would have passed to Angharad and thus to Ieuan and his descendants. The date of the marriage of Angharad and Ieuan is not known: however, the two houses were joined at some time in the early fifteenth century and a Pengwern-Mostyn match must have been considered important for the marriage to have taken place at all.

275. For example, H. J. F. Vaughan, 'On the tribe of Ednowain Bendew' in Arch. Camb., 1878, p. 38. However, Jonet Stanley was the second wife of John Conway (c. 1435-1517/8) (Bywgraffiadur II, p. 74); the dates do not therefore make sense. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 44, calls Angharad's supposed first husband Edward Stanley.

276. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3124.

277. The overall impression of the hand used in this document is of one of the early or mid-sixteenth century. However, the scribe has from time to time attempted to imitate a late fourteenth century hand and in some places an earlier one, which suggests an attempt at forgery rather than a copy of an existing deed.

278. C.R.R. II, p. 553.

CHAPTER THREE

GLODDAITH AND TREGARNEDD

(a) Gloddaith

The fourth and fifth of the five Mostyn seats were Gloddaith in the commote of Creuddyn in Caernarvonshire and Tregarnedd in the commote of Menai in Anglesey.¹ These two lines met in the fourteenth century in the person of Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith who was the son of Madog Gloddaith and Morfudd, the daughter of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd or Gruffydd ap Rhys of Tregarnedd and Dinorwig, one of the ubiquitous and influential descendants of Ednyfed Fychan. The founder of the Gloddaith family fortunes seems to have been one Mabon Glochydd who probably flourished towards the end of the twelfth century and who was the great-great-great-grandfather of Madog Gloddaith; the descent is as follows:

Madog Gloddaith ap Madog Fychan ap Madog ap Iorwerth Goch ap Madog ap Mabon.² This line is confirmed by record evidence back to Iorwerth Goch. The pedigrees do not agree about the ancestry of Mabon Glochydd but he is said to have lived at Gloddaith.³

The family lands lay in Rhos, Creuddyn, Anglesey, and Tegeingl. In 1334 two-thirds of the free township of Mochdre in Rhos Uwch Dulas were held by three free gwelyau known collectively as Wyrion Map Bonyeth (Maboniaid) and individually as the gwelyau of Iorwerth ap Madog, Gwion ap Madog, and Bleddyn ap Madog.⁴ In Creuddyn in 1352 the free township of Gloddaith was held in its entirety by the same three gwelyau;⁵ the eponyms were the sons of Madog ap Mabon. The sole heir of the gwely of Iorwerth ap Madog in Mochdre was Madog Gloddaith, who rendered 12½d. twnc at the feast of All Saints, 12½d. pastus at Christmas, and 7d. at each of the other two terms, other services being rendered in common with the other

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1. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, p. 11a.
 2. N.L.W. Peniarth 126, p. 56; Peniarth 176, p. 364.
 3. P. C. Bartrum, 'Pedigrees of the Welsh tribal patriarchs' in N.L.W. Journal, XIII, ii (1963), p. 116, gives two versions of Mabon's descent: Mabon Glochydd ap Gwynn var ap Gwynn veryw ap Pigyw o Vynyw (Peniarth 136, p. 363) and Mabon ap Tegonwy ap Mor ap Tegrin ap Aelaw ap Greddf ap Kwnws ddu (Peniarth 176, p. 139), J. E. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 183, gives Mabon ap Tegonwy ap Greddf ap Cwnwn Ddu ap Cyhelun Ynad ap Peredur Teyrnog ap Meilyr Eryr.
 4. Survey of Denbigh, pp. 306-7.
 5. Record of Caernarvon, p. 1.

tenants of the commote; his son Madog Fychan was the sole heir of the same gwely in Gloddaith and he held by suit to the county and hundred courts and military service, while the three gwelyau between them paid an annual rent of one pound.⁶ Across the Menai Straits in Anglesey half the township of Porthaethwy in the commote of Dindaethwy was held by the gwely of Dafydd ap Mabon, the heirs of which in 1352 were Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith, Goronwy ap Bleddyn ap Heilin, and others who rendered nothing beyond suit to the county and hundred courts although their bondmen paid each cylch.⁷ They also had their own mill called Melin Bach and a half-share of the Porthaethwy ferry across the straits except during Beaumeris fair on 8 September when all the profits belonged to the prince who had the other half. There was a gwely of the same name in the nearby township of Crugtegfân; here the heirs were Dafydd ap Goronwy and Madog ap Mabon who owed suit to the county and hundred courts and an annual rent of 6s. 1d.⁸ One of two gwelyau in the township of Carnan in the commote of Menai was Gwely Wyrion Mabon, held by Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith and his brother Madog by suit to the hundred (but not the county) court and an annual rent of sixpence.⁹

These were the family's hereditary lands. In addition to them Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith held the bond township of Nantbychan in the Anglesey commote of Twrceilyn but this had come to him through his mother, being part of the patrimony of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd.¹⁰ The family also held one-third of the township of Rhyd in the commote of Prestatyn in Tegeingl and the 1334 survey of the lordship of Denbigh refers to the fifteenth part of a gafael in Gwytherin held by Ednyfed ap Madog ap Elochech (Clotheys in another manuscript) and Madog Fychan his

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6. In Mochdre the heirs of Gwely Gwion ap Madog were Cynwrig ap Ithel ap Roppert and his brother Madog, Gwrgant ap Iorwerth ap Gwion, Maredudd ap Philip ap Iorwerth, and Hywel ap Tegwared and his brother Madog; those of Gwely Bleddyn ap Madog were Bleddyn ap Heilin ap Bleddyn with his brothers Llywelyn and Madog and Hywel ap Hywel ap Heilin with his brother Llywelyn. In Gloddaith Dafydd ap Hywel ap Tegwared and Cynwrig ap Madog Ddu were the heirs of Gwely Gwion and Llywelyn Chwith, Cynwrig ap Madog ap Heilin, and others were the heirs of Gwely Bleddyn.
 7. A. D. Carr, 'The extent of Anglesey, 1352' in Trans. A.A.S., 1971-2, p. 245. For the cylchoedd due from Anglesey see *ibid.*, p. 164, nn. 14-7.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

brother of the abadaeth at an annual rent of 4¹/₂d. and half a farthing.¹¹ The identification of Madog ap Elochech with Madog Gloddaith cannot, of course, be proved to anyone's absolute satisfaction but, bearing in mind the variant reading and the liberties that medieval clerks took with the name Gloddaith (Glodeith, Clothy, Lotheth and Clonyac are a few examples), there must be a reasonable possibility.

The geographical origins of Mabon and his descendants cannot be ascertained from the available evidence relating to these lands but it may be significant that the original form of the name of the township of Bodafon in Creuddyn was Bodfafon.¹² This township formed part of the bishop of Bangor's manor of Gogarth and in 1348-9 it was held by Bleddyn ap Madog and his brother Dafydd and five other free tenants who only owed suit to the bishop's court and who had their own tenants.¹³ There is no evidence to indicate the descent of these tenants from Mabon but the name may point to the township as part of his lands. The three gwelyau of Gloddaith were held by suit to the county and hundred, military service and an annual rent; a similar tenure existed in the neighbouring townships of Penrhyn and Trefwarth, the former of which was held by the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan by the remarkably free tenure associated with that family which involved suit to the county and hundred courts and military service but no financial obligations.¹⁴ Tenure in Trefwarth did involve the payment of rent but no connection between the heirs there and those of Gloddaith can be traced. This military tenure which existed in these three Creuddyn townships and in a number of other places in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey in addition to those held by the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan stemmed from the military and defensive policies of the last princes of Gwynedd. It had originally been the duty and privilege of every freeman to follow the king to war for an unlimited period within his territory and for up to six weeks in the year outside it but

11. P.R.O. Chester 30/4, m. 11b; Survey of Denbigh, p. 189.

12. Melville Richards, Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units (1969), p. 15.

13. Record of Caernarvon, p. 110.

14. The tenure is discussed by Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 181-4.

in the thirteenth century the attempts of the princes to unite Wales under their leadership necessitated prolonged campaigning outside Gwynedd.¹⁵ This led them to look for ways of keeping an army in being beyond the customary period and the result was the development of a form of recruitment by contract whereby grants of land were made in return for military service. In these cases the service which had previously been personal and restricted by law now became attached to land and at the prince's will.¹⁶ Some grants included certain jurisdictional privileges but more often the privileges comprised the limitation of obligations to suit to the prince's court and a money rent.

Three townships in Creuddyn, therefore, were held by variations of this military tenure and it is suggested that the grant of Gloddaith was made early in the thirteenth century, presumably by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to Madog ap Mabon. It was subsequently divided among his sons, each of whom was the eponym of a gwely; it cannot be without significance that there was a hamlet in Gloddaith called Hendrefwion.¹⁷ The concentration of these townships in the area is explained by its strategic importance; the commote of Creuddyn has been described as a bridgehead covering the lower Conway ferries and at its maerdref, Degannwy, there was a castle which changed hands frequently before 1282 and possession of which was an indicator of the relative strength of the prince of Gwynedd and the English crown at any time.¹⁸ Degannwy, moreover, controlled the mouth of the river and formed part of Gwynedd's second line of defence;¹⁹ it was, in effect, the key to Gwynedd-Uwch-Conwy. Strategic considerations often seem to have governed these grants of townships and the fact that the same gwelyau held lands in Mochdre may point to a contemporary grant or settlement there. Here again the position of the township governed the approach to Gwynedd-Uwch-Conwy along the

15. For the legal position see A. R. Wiliam, ed., Llyfr Iorwerth (1960), p. 61.

16. G. R. J. Jones, 'The defence of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century' in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc. 30 (1969), pp. 40-1; C. W. Lewis, 'The treaty of Woodstock, 1247; its background and significance' in W.H.R. II, i, (1964), pp. 63-4.

17. Melville Richards, Op. cit., p. 89; N. L. W. Thorne 266.

18. G. R. J. Jones, 'The military geography of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century', p. 55.

19. G. R. J. Jones, in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc. 30, p. 37.

coast and the suggestion that 'a protective screen of freemen' was established in sensitive areas has been made.²⁰ The 1334 survey makes no mention of military service but it does suggest some form of privilege; Madog Gloddaith, the heir of Gwely Iorwerth, seems to have been challenging an attempt by the lord of Denbigh to make him pay the customary dues of smobr and ebediw and the holdings of Gwelyau Gwion and Bleddyn had been taken from their heirs when the earl of Lancaster held the lordship (between 1311 and 1322) because they had not paid smobr; at the time of the survey they were held by the community.²¹ This may indicate that these three gwelyau had been quit of these dues (they were not due in Gloddaith) in the time of the princes and that an attempt was now being made to exact them; Lancaster seems generally to have been hard on his tenants.²²

The Anglesey lands may also have been the result of grants. Crugtegfán and half of Porthaethwy were held by Gwely Dafydd ap Mabon; in 1352 the Porthaethwy heirs included Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith and Goronwy ap Bleddyn ap Heilin, probably a descendant of Bleddyn ap Madog ap Mabon. In 1394, moreover, Tudur ap Philip ap Gwrgant demised lands in Porthaethwy, Gloddaith, and Hendrefwion to Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith;²³ the distribution of these lands suggests that he was one of the descendants of Madog ap Mabon. In 1413 a Penrhyn rental included 8d. for the demesne land of Madog ap Bleddyn ap Heilin in Porthaethwy and it also referred to a half-gafael there called Tyddyn Gwion.²⁴ And in 1343 Bleddyn ap Heilin was one of the witnesses to a conveyance in tir prid of lands in Porthaethwy, Crugtegfán, Pwllgwngyll, Carman, and Maenol Bangor to Madog Gloddaith.²⁵ This suggests that Dafydd ap Mabon had left no heirs and that his rights therefore passed to his nephews and their descendants. The tables which follow are an attempt to work out the relationships of those descendants of Gwion and Bleddyn who appear in the records. Hywel and Madog ap Tegwared

20. G. R. J. Jones in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc., 30, p. 41.

21. Survey of Denbigh, pp. 306-7.

22. J. R. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322; a study in the reign of Edward II (1970), pp. 33-5.

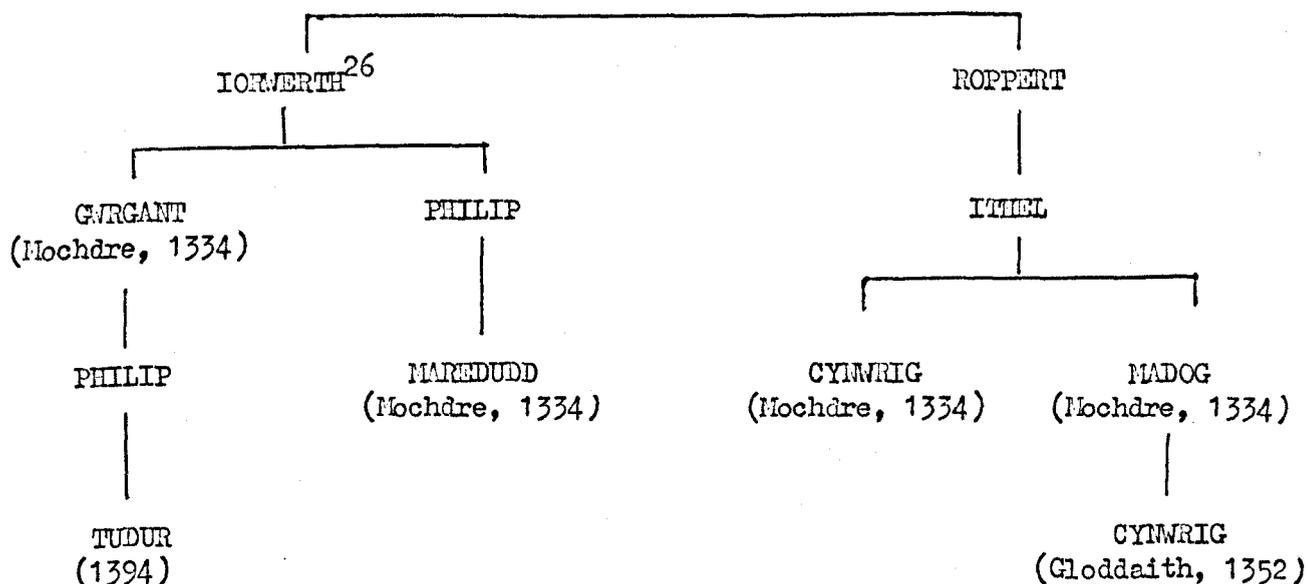
23. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4084.

24. U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 1599.

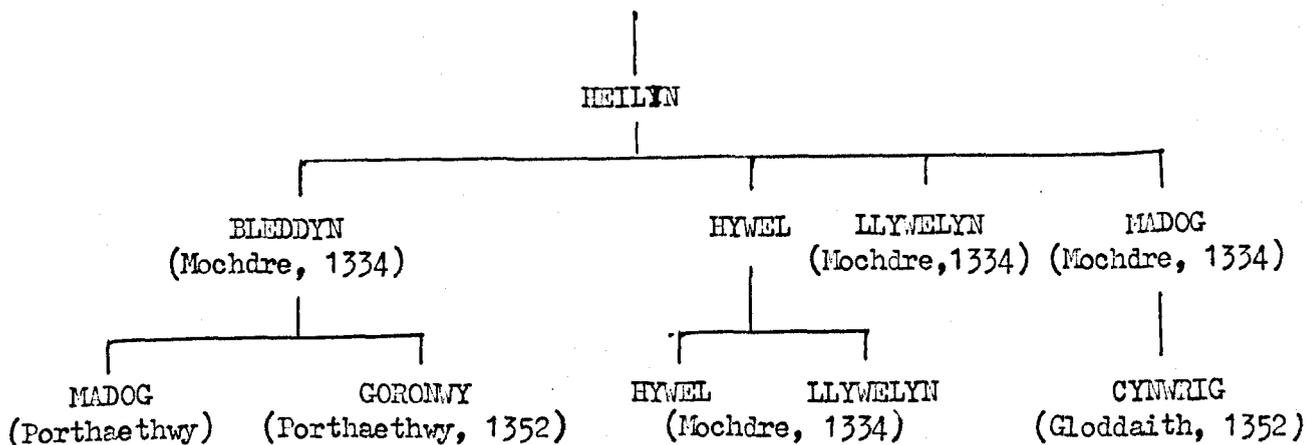
25. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4083.

(Mochdre) and Dafydd ap Hywel ap Tegwared and Llywelyn Chwith (Gloddaith) cannot at present be fitted into the table; neither can the two named as heirs in Crugtegfán in 1352. In Carnan the two sons of Madog Gloddaith seem to have been the only heirs of Gwely Wyrion Mabon in 1352, which may indicate the acquisition of the shares of their numerous kinsmen. The evidence which survives, therefore, suggests holdings by the descendants of all the sons of Madog ap Mabon in Anglesey as well as in Rhos and if more deeds were available it would probably be possible to illustrate the movement of land within the kindred group more clearly.

GWION AP MADOG



BLEDDYN AP MADOG



The pattern of settlement in Anglesey has been discussed in considerable detail

26. N.L.W. Peniarth 176, p. 364, gives Iorwerth and Roppert as the sons of Gwion ap Madog.

and it has been suggested that extensive settlement took place in the twelfth century as an act of deliberate policy.²⁷ The position of the descendants of Mabon there may, however, be the result of a later development which was one of the results of the policy of the princes of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century. The tenorial consequences of their military policy have already been considered but they were not only concerned with the defence of Gwynedd; their aim was to build up a united Welsh feudal state and side by side with this objective went extensive and fundamental social, legal, administrative, and economic changes within Gwynedd itself.²⁸ To bring about these changes they needed reliable servants and the result was the emergence of a lay official class.²⁹ The best-known example of a bureaucratic dynasty of this type is, of course, the line of Ednyfed Fychan, Llywelyn the Great's seneschal, who played such a prominent part in the affairs of the principality in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Ednyfed was rewarded by grants of townships, particularly in Anglesey, to be held by the quasi-feudal tenure which bears his name; the privileges attached to this tenure seem also to have been extended to the ancestral lands of his family in Rhos and Rhufoniog.³⁰ But there were other privileged townships in Anglesey too. Their occupants did not all enjoy the same privileges and exemptions (some, for example, owed military service and some did not) but they existed nevertheless. Many of these may represent grants by the princes, particularly by Llywelyn the Great, to individuals by way of reward for service, and these grants often included the delegation of royal rights over the bondmen there.³¹ None of the Anglesey lands of the Gloddaith family were held by military service

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27. For settlement in Anglesey see T. Jones Pierce, 'Medieval settlement in Anglesey' in Trans. A.A.S., 1951, pp. 1-23; G. R. J. Jones 'The distribution of medieval settlement in Anglesey' in ibid., 1955, pp. 27-96.
 28. These developments are discussed in T. Jones Pierce, 'The age of the princes' in D. M. Lloyd, ed., The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism (1950), pp. 53-8.
 29. Glyn Roberts, 'Wales and England' 1282-1485; antipathy and sympathy' in Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 301-2.
 30. Glyn Roberts, 'Wyrion Eden' in ibid., pp. 181-4.
 31. For a map showing the distribution of these townships see Melville Richards, ed., An Atlas of Anglesey (1972), p. 40. Those in Dindaethwy are discussed by C. M. Evans, 'The medieval borough of Beaumeris and the commote of Dindaethwy, 1200-1600' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1949), pp. 26-7.

but they were held on very easy terms and at Porthaethwy in particular the heirs had their own bondmen. Mabon Glochydd or Madog ap Mabon may, therefore, have been in the prince's service and received lands and privileges in consequence; the family certainly formed part of the official class after 1282. There is no evidence to show how the lands at Rhyd in Tegeingl came into the family's possession, while if the Gwytherin tenants of 1334 can be identified as the sons of Madog Gloddaith, they were leasing lands in the abadaeth.

The first document relating to the family comes from the end of the thirteenth century. On 3 July, 1298, Madog Fychan ap Madog ap Iorwerth Goch of Creuddyn granted his son Madog lands in Gloddaith, Hendrefwion, and Morfa ³¹ Rhiannedd in Creuddyn and in Porthaethwy;³² unfortunately no details are given. The witnesses to the grant included Gruffydd, archdeacon of St. Asaph, and Tudur and Goronwy Fychan, the two sons of Goronwy ap Ednyfed Fychan, and this suggests that Madog Fychan was a man of some standing in North Wales where the descendants of Ednyfed were so influential. Madog Gloddaith was undoubtedly a member of the official class and held various offices under Edward II. After 1282 this class had transferred its loyalty to Edward I; indeed, the transfer may have taken place before the fall of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd.³³ Madog Fychan had at least two sons, Madog Gloddaith and Gruffydd, and he granted his lands at Rhyd to them before his death. Gruffydd was dead by 13 July, 1310, when Madog Gloddaith appeared before the justice of Chester at the Flintshire sessions and claimed one-third of the township of Rhyd which had been taken into the escheator's hands. He cited his father's charter to himself and claimed as the survivor; the lands were restored to him.³⁴

Madog Gloddaith was, without a doubt, the most eminent member of the family. He was a typical member of the official class; the first reference to him holding

32. N.L.W. Thorne 266.

33. This development is discussed by Glyn Roberts in 'The significance of 1284' in Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 284-6; the official class and especially the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan are also discussed in the sections on Trecastell and Tregarnedd in this study.

34. P.R.O. Chester 30/4, m. 11b.

office comes from about 1318 when he was farming the raglotry of Creuddyn and the bailiwick of the detached townships of Penmaen, Llysfaen, and Eirias which, although geographically in the lordship of Denbigh, were part of the principality, for 43s. 4d. annually. He petitioned the king to allow him to retain these offices and was successful; the petition was endorsed that the king did not care to remove those who had served him well and that Madog was not to be removed as long as he behaved.³⁵ About the same time he asked for the farm of the raglotry of Dindaethwy at the same fee as had previously been paid;³⁶ there is no endorsement on this petition but on 14 December, 1318, the bedelry (office of rhingyll) of Dindaethwy was granted to Madog Angloyt for life in recognition of his good service to Edward I and Edward II.³⁷ He was to retain an annual sum of £4 from the issues of the office for his sustenance and to answer for the rest at the Caernarvon Exchequer. This Madog cannot, however, be identified definitely as Madog Gloddaith, despite the frequent bureaucratic mangling of his name; there is no other record of the result of the second petition but at the parliament held at York at Michaelmas, 1318, a petition from Madog Gloddaith was one of those reserved for the king's personal consideration.³⁸ This could have been either of the requests for office or yet another submitted to parliament in 1318 in which he complained that those in Anglesey who had their own mills were being distrained by the sheriff for suit to those of the king.³⁹ Madog's request for the retention of his bailiwicks could have been a result of the rule of Roger Mortimer of Chirk, the justice of North Wales, who already had a bad reputation for oppression and injustice in the execution of his office.⁴⁰

During the next decade Madog held the office of under-sheriff of Caernarvonshire. On 9 November, 1324, he came before the justice and chamberlain

35. P.R.O. S.C.8/126/6271.

36. P.R.O. S.C.8/319/E364.

37. C.F.R. 1307-1319, p. 387.

38. H. G. Richardson & G. O. Sayles, Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie hactenus inediti, 1279-1373 (1935), p. 73.

39. H. Cole, Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (1844), p. 38.

40. Waters, Edwardian Settlement, p. 48.

of North Wales in the Exchequer at Caernarvon and was appointed acting sheriff from the previous Michaelmas until Michaelmas, 1325, by the sheriff, Giles de Beauchamp;⁴¹ this indicated that de Beauchamp would be away from North Wales during this period. He was deputising again in 1326-7; on 6 February, 1327, Robert Power, the chamberlain of North Wales, was ordered to receive Madog in place of de Beauchamp to render account as the latter was with the king.⁴² And as under-sheriff, in June of the same year, he was one of those to whom wages were ordered to be paid for escorting troops from North Wales to Portsmouth on their way to Gascony three years previously.⁴³ On 1 June, 1336, he and William de Shaldeford, formerly Roger Mortimer's confidential clerk, who was widely suspected of having given his master the warning of an impending rescue attempt which had led to the murder of Edward II in 1327, were appointed to guard the coasts of North Wales and arrest any ships needed for the king's service;⁴⁴ at this time there was widespread fear of a Scottish attack on Wales as there had been in the years after Bannockburn. Five years later, on 14 October, 1341, he was appointed with de Shaldeford, John Charlton the younger, lord of Powys, and Robert ap Gruffydd ap Hywel to levy 100 spearmen and 200 archers from North Wales to go to Carlisle in readiness for a campaign in Scotland.⁴⁵

In 1338 Madog had been arrested as surety for Llywelyn ap Einion Goch, late rhingyll of Dindaethwy, who owed £20 arrears of the farm of his office.⁴⁶ This was partly the result of increased efforts to collect money due to the crown from the principality since Edward III needed all the resources he could gather to pay for his campaigns and looked on the principality primarily as a source of men and money; it was also the consequence of a change in policy towards royal officials. Previously the sheriff had answered to the chamberlain at Caernarvon for all the royal revenues and the chamberlain in turn accounted for them at Westminster;

41. N.L.W. Peniarth 405, p. 490.

42. C.C.R., 1327-1330, p. 104; the practice of appointing acting sheriffs is discussed briefly in Waters, *Op. cit.*, p. 73 n.

43. Calendar of Memoranda Rolls (Exchequer), 1326-1327, no. 787.

44. Rotuli Scotiae, I, p. 427.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 618.

46. C.P.R., 1338-1340, p. 49.

now the burden on these officials was lightened by making the lesser officials immediately responsible for the money due. In this case the sheriff of Anglesey reported that a number of officials who had arrears outstanding had been imprisoned and this evidence that he was doing his best to collect the money eased the royal pressure on him.⁴⁷ In cases of this kind when the debtor had not been found the surety had to face the consequences and this may explain Madog's arrest. Officials were often in arrear; a bad harvest could affect payments and they might sometimes be called away on other business or for military service. And administrative standards were deteriorating, partly because of the lack of constant and efficient supervision and partly because Edward III tended to grant offices to absentee servants and creditors, either by way of reward or in settlement of debts.⁴⁸

On 12 May, 1343, Edward, the king's eldest son, was created prince of Wales and granted the principality and its appertenant lands. In the following month a royal clerk was sent to Wales to survey the castles of the principality and, with four other commissioners, to receive the fealty of its leading men to their new prince.⁴⁹ At Caernarvon on 5 August Madog Gloddaith did fealty, along with the other prominent Welshmen of the county.⁵⁰ At the same time there was an enquiry as to who held various offices; the jurors of Nantconwy reported that Madog was farming the raglotry of that commote for 20s. annually and that he was executing the office of woodward there on behalf of Adam Heyn, the rhingyll, who was farming it at 6s. 8d.⁵¹ The last office held by him was, not surprisingly, the raglotry of Creuddyn; in 1350-1 he was farming it at 26s. 8d.⁵² The farm before the pestilence had been 43s. 4d. so this shows the devastation wrought in the commote by the Black Death. He was still farming the raglotry a year later

47. Waters, Op. cit., pp. 78-9.

48. For a general discussion of the state of the administration of North Wales under Edward III and of the attempts to reform it see Waters, Op. cit., pp. 69-86.

49. For a discussion of the survey and the fealty see D. L. Evans, 'Some notes on the history of the principality of Wales in the time of the Black Prince' in Trans. Cymm., 1925-6, pp. 30-4.

50. Arch. Camb., Original Documents, I (1877), p. cliii.

51. Ibid., p. clxviii.

52. P.R.O. S.C.6/1171/7.

but in 1352-3 he was succeeded as fermor by his son Gruffydd.⁵³

In addition to holding a variety of offices, Madog Gloddaith was frequently a juror or a pledge. He was a juror in a case heard at Trefriw on 19 April, 1329, relating to an unlicensed mill built at Gwydir by Hywel ap Madog and about the same time he was one of the bishop of Bangor's pledges in an action over the water of Cornwy in Anglesey.⁵⁴ At the great Quo Warranto proceedings of 1348, when every privilege in North Wales came under review, he was nominated by the bishop of Bangor and Edward de St. John as their attorney and was one of the pledges of the bishop, the dean and chapter of Bangor, the burgesses of Newborough, the abbot of Bardsey and the prior of the knights of St. John.⁵⁵ Thus he was a public figure of some consequence in the principality and a typical member of the Welsh official class and this must have meant his involvement in the crises of the period. One feature of the troubled reign of Edward II is the consistent loyalty to him of the official class in the principality of Wales. The leader of this class in Gwynedd was Sir Gruffydd Llwyd of Tregarnedd, who was also Madog's father-in-law, which suggests that Madog followed the example of his kinsmen and colleagues.⁵⁶ After the king's fall in 1327 a number of the leading Welshmen in North Wales were imprisoned for a time in Caernarvon castle on the well-founded suspicion of hostility to the new regime of Mortimer and Isabella; they included Sir Gruffydd and one Madog Loithe who may have been Madog Llwyd, sheriff of Anglesey from 1308 to 1312 but who may, on the other hand, have been Madog Gloddaith.⁵⁷ It is not easy to explain this loyalty to one of the most unsuccessful kings ever to occupy the English throne; king and Welshmen may have been united in a common hatred of the house of Mortimer but there may have been a deeper loyalty. The principality granted to Edward of Caernarvon in 1301 was

53. P.R.O. S.C.6/1171/8, 9.

54. P.R.O. E315/166.

55. Record of Caernarvon, pp. 208, 209, 135, 144, 180-1, 204, 206.

56. This loyalty is discussed by Waters, Op. cit., pp. 67-8, and by Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 188-9.

57. C.C.R. 1327-1330, p. 182. On one occasion Madog Gloddaith appears as Madog Lotheth (Cal. Anc. Corr., p. 228) which makes the identification possible.

constitutionally a continuation of that of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd recognised by the crown in 1267 and following this it could be argued that the fall of Gwynedd in 1282 was regarded by many influential Welshmen as no more than a change of dynasty.⁵⁸ Consequently Edward of Caernarvon would, in their eyes, be as much prince of Wales as Llywelyn had been and he ruled over the same principality. This might help to explain their loyalty; it might also explain the resentment of the official class in 1327 at the overthrow of a ruler with whom they had no quarrel by a movement with which they were not in sympathy.

The fall of Edward II seems to mark a turning-point in the attitude of the official class to the crown and Edward III's policy did little or nothing to help matters. It may have been rising resentment among the uchelwyr of North Wales, the natural leaders of society who were now ignored by the authorities, which led eventually to the assassination, on 14 February, 1345, of Henry de Shaldeford, the newly appointed royal attorney.⁵⁹ According to royal officials Shaldeford met his end 'because he was my lord's attorney in North Wales ... all the great men of North Wales, clerks and others, were parties to the scheme, as will certainly be found, since they feared him because he had more knowledge than any other man of those who have disinherited my lord'.⁶⁰ In addition to these activities, whatever they may have been, of the leading men of Gwynedd, relations between Welsh and English in the principality were deteriorating. The ringleaders were Hywel and Tudur ap Goronwy of Penmynydd, the representatives of the senior line of the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan, and one must wonder whether the episode could have been part of a complicated manoeuvre on their part to recover the position of influence which their family had previously enjoyed. There exist two very interesting lists, probably enclosed in a letter to one of the prince's officials from Richard de Stafford, one of the commissioners investigating the affair; one is of those attainted of felony and conspiracy and in custody in

58. J. G. Edwards, The Principality of Wales, 1267-1967, a study in constitutional history (1969), pp. 8-9.

59. The Shaldeford murder and its significance is discussed by D. L. Evans in Trans. Cymm., 1925-6, pp. 40-5, and by Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 194-7.

60. Cal. Anc. Corr., p. 233.

Denbigh castle and the other is of those attainted but still at large.⁶¹ The lists show how deeply the Welsh leaders were involved; those in custody included various descendants of Ednyfed Fychan, among them the two ringleaders, Sir Gruffydd Llwyd's son Ieuan, who was archdeacon of Anglesey and Madog Gloddaith. The records which survive do not tell the whole story but it does appear that the matter was allowed to blow over, although Hywel ap Goronwy underwent a short term of imprisonment. It is possible that all the parties involved had agreed to make a fresh start and the Quo Warranto proceedings of 1348 and the new extent of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire in 1352 may suggest an awareness that the prince was not receiving all that was due to him.

The mid-fourteenth century was the time when members of the official class and prosperous free tenants began to look about them for more land. The freedom of tenants in North Wales to buy and sell land had been conceded in the Lincoln ordinances of 1316 for an experimental period of three years and this was renewed for a further four years in 1321 and never revoked.⁶² Partible succession and the multiplicity of heirs ~~was~~ ^{were} resulting in the abandonment of uneconomic shares and their sale to the more enterprising members of the kindred group or, indeed, to ambitious outsiders. The previous chapter has shown this process at work in Flintshire but there is no evidence of land purchase on a large scale by Madog Gloddaith; he and his descendants seem on the whole to have been content with what they had. Few deeds to which he was a party have survived but one or two are of interest. In 1298 his father had granted him lands in Porthaethwy and Creuddyn during his own lifetime;⁶³ he had also granted him and his brother Gruffydd all his lands in Tegeingl.⁶⁴ In the light of these grants it is interesting to note that on 4 November, 1351, in consideration of the payment of a fine of 20 marks payable in four instalments over the next two years, the prince pardoned Madog Gloddaith for his trespass in purchasing from his father all his lands in

61. Cal. Anc. Corr., pp. 227-9.

62. Bowen, Statutes, p. 29; Waters, Op. cit., p. 159; J. Beverley Smith, 'Crown and community in North Wales in the reign of Henry Tudor' in W.H.R. III, i (1966), p. 148.

63. N.L.W. Thorne 266.

64. P.R.O. Chester 30/4, m. 11b.

Caernarvonshire and Anglesey without the king's licence.⁶⁵ The transaction had, of course, taken place at a time when the sale of land was not permitted and it may be that the widespread investigations and administrative reforms which followed the grant of the principality to the Black Prince and the Shaldeford affair had uncovered many such dealings and that the authorities turned their new knowledge to profitable use. These conveyances within the lifetime of the fathers were repeated in the next generation: on 31 December, 1340, Madog Gloddaith enfeoffed his son Gruffydd with lands in Rhyd and with his portion of a messuage, formerly the property of Goronwy ap Dafydd, in nearby Hiraddug.⁶⁶ The feoffment also included lands in Uwch Dulas, presumably in Gwely Iorwerth ap Madog in Mochdre. With regard to the property in Hiraddug, an inquisition at the Flintshire sessions on 23 August, 1333, on the possessions of Goronwy ap Goronwy, recently hanged for the murder of Richard de Ridegate in that township, found that Goronwy had three years previously granted all his lands there to Madog Gloddaith by charter.⁶⁷

The 1352 survey shows that the Rhyd property was not the only land which Madog granted to his sons during his own lifetime. The sole heir to Gwely Iorwerth ap Madog in Gloddaith itself was his son, Madog Fychan. Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith was one of the heirs of Gwely Dafydd ap Mabon in Porthaethwy, while the two brothers were holding the Carnan property. Indeed, Madog seems by this time to have transferred all his ancestral lands to these two sons; all he himself was recorded in the extent as holding was the maerdref of Degannwy, leased from the prince for a term of eight years at an annual rent of 20s.⁶⁸ The grant had been made by the prince on 1 November, 1350, and ran from the previous Michaelmas.⁶⁹ The total rent previously due to the prince from the bondmen of Degannwy had been 41s. 4¹/₂d. but practically all the tenements were vacant for want of tenants, which explains the lease to Madog at a reduced rent. This is evidence of the effects

65. P.R.O. S.C.6/1171/8.
66. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3264.
67. P.R.O. Chester 30/7, m. 22b.
68. Record of Caernarvon, p. 2.
69. P.R.O. S.C.6/1171/10.

of the Black Death, which seems to have hit Creuddyn particularly hard;⁷⁰ the reduction in the farm of the raglotry bears this out. In Wales, as in England, many bond tenements must have been left without tenants and came on to the market to be snapped up by the ambitious and the enterprising, but Degannwy did not pass out of the royal possession; when Madog's term expired in 1358 it was leased to the abbot of Aberconway.⁷¹

In two generations at least of the Gloddaith family lands seem to have been handed over to the sons during the lifetime of the father. These conveyances may be coincidence; on the other hand they may have been a means of avoiding excessive division of the inheritance on the death of the father, of controlling the devolution of the property, and perhaps of evading the payment of ebediw.⁷² Other families used different devices to attain the same ends.⁷³ But on the whole the family do not seem to have shown much ambition or initiative in the field of estate-building although some deeds may have disappeared. In 1316 Madog bought three messuages and shares in a mill and a weir in Porthaethwy for £24 and in 1343 he acquired land in tir prid in Porthaethwy, Pwllgwngyll, Crugtegfán, Carnan Uchaf, and Maenol Bangor from one of the bishop of Bangor's tenants, but that is all.⁷⁴

Nothing else is known of Madog Gloddaith.⁷⁵ No poetry addressed to him has survived, if, indeed, any ever existed. One feature seems to have been a lack of personal beauty which apparently became proverbial; in one of the areithiau, the rhetorical declamations studied and learned by apprentice poets there occurs the line

Penn vo kynn hakred Madok Kloddaith a Morvran vab Tegid⁷⁶

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70. William Rees, 'The Black Death in Wales' in R. W. Southern, ed., Essays in Medieval History, pp. 186-7.
71. P.R.O. S.C.6/1172/3.
72. For another example of lands conveyed by a father to his sons see U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 410 (1383).
73. See, for example, the creation of an entail by Gruffydd ap Madog of Glyndyfrdwy in 1328 (C.P.R. 1327-1330, p. 314).
74. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 716, 4083.
75. The references to Madog Gloddaith were listed by Sir John Lloyd (U.C.N.W., Sir John Lloyd MSS. 59, a notebook entitled 'Biographical notes on minor figures in Welsh history and legend').
76. D. Gwenallt Jones, Yr Areithiau Pros (1934), p. 15: 'When he was as ugly as Madog Gloddaith and Morvran, son of Tegid'.

He married Morfudd, one of the daughters of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, and thus a large part of the Tregarnedd inheritance came into the possession of his descendants.⁷⁷

Record evidence shows him as having had at least two sons, Madog Fychan and Gruffydd; the pedigrees also list three daughters, two called Gwenllian and Gwenhwyfar.⁷⁸ If the identification of the Gwytherin tenants is correct he had a third son, Ednyfed. The date of his death is unknown but he must have been still alive in 1358 when his lease of Degannwy expired; this would mean that he was well advanced in years when he died since the first documentary reference to him was sixty years earlier.

Madog Fychan does not seem to have been a particularly important figure. In 1348 he was one of the witnesses to a quitclaim of lands in Flintshire to Tudur ap Ithel Fychan.⁷⁹ He appears to have had a share of the lands at Rhyd since there are references to him in Flintshire documents; at the sessions held at Rhuddlan on 21 June, 1351, for example, he was one of a number of persons from the county who admitted that they owed the earl of Chester £10 which they would pay by instalments over the next two years.⁸⁰ In 1352 he held Gwely Iorwerth ap Madog in Gloddaith and he was also foreman of the Creuddyn jury when the extent was made.⁸¹ In 1353-4 he farmed the raglotry of Creuddyn at 30s. and on 27 May, 1355, he was amerced for not coming to answer the abbot of Aberconway in a plea at the Caernarvonshire sessions.⁸² This is the sum total of Madog Fychan's appearances in the records; presumably he died unmarried or, at least, without direct heirs since the Gloddaith lands were later held by the descendants of his brother Gruffydd.

Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith was a far more substantial figure than his brother. Like his father he was a prominent member of the official class who held a number of offices in Anglesey and Caernarvonshire. His first appearance was in 1340 when

77. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 11a.

78. N.L.W. Peniarth 176, p. 364.

79. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3326; he also witnessed a grant made by Ednyfed Gam of Pengwern in 1342 (Clwyd R.O. Nerquis Hall MSS., D/Nh/6).

80. P.R.O. Chester 30/8, m. 85b.

81. Record of Caernarvon, p. 1.

82. P.R.O. S.C.6/1305/16; N.L.W. Peniarth 405, p. 437.

his father granted him lands in Flintshire and the witnesses to this grant testify to the family's standing;⁸³ they included Gruffydd's maternal uncle Ieuan ap Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, archdeacon of Anglesey, Hywel ap Goronwy, dean and subsequently bishop of Bangor (not to be confused with Hywel ap Goronwy of Penmynydd), and Cynwrig Sais and Bleddyn, two of the ambitious and influential sons of Ithel Fychan of Halkyn.⁸⁴ In 1352-3 Gruffydd succeeded his father as fermor of the raglotry of Creuddyn, paying the reduced post-plague rent as Madog Gloddaith had done;⁸⁵ his brother farmed the same office the following year but it eventually came back into his hands. There is no indication of when he recovered the raglotry since no accounts were submitted from the commote for a long time during the reign of Richard II because it was among the lands granted to the queen, Anne of Bohemia;⁸⁶ he was still holding it in 1388-9 although he had ceased to do so two years later.⁸⁷ In 1351-2 a Gruffydd ap Madog was rhingyll of Nantconwy; he still held the office in 1353-4, but there is nothing to identify him definitely with Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith.⁸⁸

Gruffydd's official activities were not restricted to Caernarvonshire. On 1 October, 1355, he was granted the shrievalty of Anglesey for three years at an annual farm of £80 and the escheatorship at £16. 13s. 4d. and he also farmed the raglotry of avowry there in 1357-8 at £7. 5s. annually.⁸⁹ The amount of the farm suggests that this was an office of considerable profit. He was also called on for military service, like so many of his contemporaries; on 10 June, 1359, the deputy-justice and chamberlain of North Wales were ordered to array fifty of the best archers to be found there for the prince's next expedition and to appoint his yeoman Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith as their leader.⁹⁰ On 27 July

83. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3264.

84. The sons of Ithel Fychan are discussed in Chapter II of this study.

85. P.R.O. S.C.6/1171/9.

86. P.R.O. S.C.6/1173/8.

87. P.R.O. S.C.6/1173/7, 9.

88. P.R.O. S.C.6/1171/8, 10.

89. P.R.O. S.C.6/1149/6, the rhaglaw of the avowry was concerned with the supervision of the avowry tenants, that is, those who, having come from outside the principality, were granted the prince's protection on payment of a small annual fine.

90. B.P.R. III, p. 347.

the force, under the command of Gruffydd and Sir Hywel ap Gruffydd (Syr Hywel y Fwyall) were ordered to be at Northbourne near Sandwich a month later.

Presumably the force was required for the campaign in northern France which ended in the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, so Gruffydd must have seen some active service.⁹¹

Gwely Dafydd ap Mabon in Porthaethwy held half the ferry there across the Menai Straits except during the three days of Beaumaris fair. The other half belonged to the prince but for most of this period it was being farmed by Gruffydd, though whether this was on his own account or on behalf of his kinsmen is not recorded. In 1355-6 he was farming it for a six-year term, which seems to have begun in 1351, at £5. 11s. 8d. annually.⁹² The farm included the use of the bishop of Bangor's boat from the nearby episcopal ferry at Porthesgob during Beaumaris fair. In 1363-4 he was farming it again, this time for ten years at £6. 4s. and undertaking responsibility for the maintenance of the boat.⁹³ This term ended in 1373 but in 1376 the farm was renewed by Gruffydd and others, perhaps fellow-members of the gwely, at £6. 6s. 8d.;⁹⁴ again this included the farm of the bishop's ferry at the time of the fair. And in 1381-2 he began another four-year term at the same farm.⁹⁵ In 1373-4 he was farming the stewardship of the commote of Menai at £40; his term ended in 1377-8.⁹⁶ Most of the royal interests in Anglesey were farmed out at this time. In 1356-7 he was charged with 10s. being the farm of the fishery of Ynys Gadarn (Ynys Dulas) in Rhosmynach but the following year he reported that it was merely in his hands as sheriff for lack of a tenant.⁹⁷

As in the case of his father, few deeds showing land transactions have survived and again it might be assumed that ancestral lands and the farm of offices

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91. B.P.R. III, p. 355; the campaign is discussed by E. Perroy, The Hundred Years War (1965), p. 138.
92. P.R.O. S.C.6/1149/6. The farm of the Porthaethwy ferry is discussed by H. R. Davies, A Review of the Records of the Conway and Menai Ferries (1942) pp. 37 ff.
93. P.R.O. S.C.6/1150/2.
94. P.R.O. S.C.6/1150/4.
95. P.R.O. S.C.6/1150/8.
96. P.R.O. E163/24/1, m. 2b; in the same year Gruffydd was a pledge for Madog ap Gruffydd ap Madog who was farming the raglotry of Creuddyn at 30s.; P.R.O. S.C.6/1150/4.
97. P.R.O. S.C.6/1149/7, 8.

were between them enough to meet his needs. Indeed, the surviving deeds show him disposing of land rather than acquiring it; in 1378 and 1392 he sold property in Porthaethwy to Ieuan ap Madog ab Adda and this may indicate a deliberate disposal of the lands in that township since the Gloddaith stake there had disappeared by the end of the next century.⁹⁸ The 1352 extent shows him holding land in Porthaethwy, Carnan, and Nantbychan; in 1389 he sold two acres in Rhyd and no medieval deeds relating to Creuddyn have survived among the main body of Mostyn archives.⁹⁹ There are a few other scattered references; on 2 March, 1383, at the Flintshire sessions, a group of people acknowledged a debt of £5. 10s. to him.¹⁰⁰ In 1354-5 he seems to have been involved in litigation with Susanna, the widow of Ieuan ap Llywelyn Ddu of Cymer in Edeirnion, and in his will, made in 1376, Gwilym ap Gruffydd ap Tudur of Llaniestyn in Anglesey recorded a debt of 40s. due to him from Gruffydd.¹⁰¹ At the court of Caernarvon fair on 30 September, 1371, one John Lely was amerced fourpence for not suing him for a debt.¹⁰² He was still alive on 1 November, 1396, when he and his son Rhys acquired lands in Porthaethwy and several adjacent townships, including Maenol Bangor, for £40;¹⁰³ the fact that these lands included property in Porthaethwy, Crugtegfán, and Carnan Uchaf may indicate that the transaction was with another member of the kindred group. His wife, according to some pedigrees, was Lleucu, daughter of Cynwrig Sais ab Ithel Fychan, but there must be some doubt about this since there is a good deal of confusion about Cynwrig's daughters.¹⁰⁴ He had at least one son, Rhys, and some sources mention three daughters, Angharad, Eva, and Mallt, but their existence is not confirmed by record evidence.¹⁰⁵

Like his father and grandfather, Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith

98. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 717, 718.

99. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2316.

100. P.R.O. Chester 30/13, m. 3a.

101. N.L.W. Peniarth 405, p. 436; U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 5.

102. G. P. Jones and Hugh Owen, eds., Caernarvon Court Rolls, 1361-1402 (1951), p. 79.

103. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4085.

104. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 183; for the daughters of Cynwrig Sais see note 96 to Chapter II of this study.

105. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 183; according to this Angharad married Rhys ab Ifan, Eva married Hwloyn ap Llywelyn, and Mallt married Conws ap Dafydd Fychan.

followed an official career and like them he farmed the raglotry of Creuddyn. In 1395-6 he was farming it at 20s. 6d. annually, including arrears, and in 1397 the farm, which included the detached townships of Llysfaen, Eirias, and Penmaen, was 13s. 4d.¹⁰⁶ By the end of Richard II's reign in 1399 it had gone up to 15s. and he was also farming half the new escheats in Creuddyn, Arllechwedd Uchaf and Isaf, and Nantconwy.¹⁰⁷ In 1380-1 a Rhys ap Gruffydd had been rhingyll of Arllechwedd Uchaf for some years, and in Anglesey a Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog played a prominent part in the affairs of the commote of Menai which, for administrative purposes, was in some way detached from the rest of Anglesey, possibly because it had been among the lands granted by Edward III to his mother Isabella for her maintenance.¹⁰⁸ In 1378-9 this Rhys was farming the stewardship of Menai at £41 as Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith had done for the previous four years;¹⁰⁹ in 1381 he also became escheator of the commote at an annual farm of 40s. and by 1383-4 he had ceased to be steward although he was now farming the raglotry at £6.¹¹⁰ This last farm came to an end in 1388-9.¹¹¹ It is not, of course, absolutely certain that this Rhys was the son of Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith but the family did hold lands in Menai, in Carnan and Tregarnedd. The grant of all royal interests in Anglesey to William le Scrope on 22 February, 1397, meant that no further accounts are available until after the Glyn Dŵr revolt, so no further light can be shed on Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog's official career.¹¹²

In the light of the official careers of three generations of the Gloddaith family (and there were many others like them) it is not easy to see neglect by the crown and exclusion from public life as one of the main causes of the involvement of the uchelwyr in the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr, although, as a

106. P.R.O. S.C.6/1174/7; 1175/1.

107. P.R.O. S.C.6/1175/6.

108. P.R.O. S.C.6/1172/10; C.P.R., 1330-1334, p. 225.

109. P.R.O. S.C.6/1150/5; the steward had the perquisites of the tourns and hundred courts of the commote.

110. P.R.O. S.C.6/1150/7, 10.

111. P.R.O. S.C.6/1151/5.

112. P.R.O. S.C.6/1152/3.

recent study has pointed out, public service and loyalty to the crown were not necessarily equated.¹¹³ The scarcity of documentary evidence means that nothing specific can be ascertained about the roots of Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith's support for Glyn Dŵr; nor is anything known about the reaction of his father to Owain of Wales although Owain seems to have had fairly widespread support in Anglesey. But Rhys certainly did take part in the revolt; indeed, he seems to have been fairly prominent. In 1406 over 2,000 Anglesey men made their peace with Henry IV and were pardoned for their part in the rebellion. The list of their names is followed by a list of those still outlawed; Glyn Dŵr himself heads the list but it also includes Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith as well as Ieuan ap Adda of Pengwern.¹¹⁴ There is further evidence of Rhys's involvement in the Flintshire records; the inquisitions into the lands of rebels in the commote of Prestatyn, taken on 2 October, 1406, include one on his property which stated that he was still in rebellion and that he had 3 tenements and 30 acres in Rhyd of an annual value of 20d.¹¹⁵ The Welsh of Flintshire did not go over to Owain until 1403 but Rhys, whose lands at Rhyd were merely an outlier of his property in Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, had probably been involved from an early stage.¹¹⁶ The absence of record evidence means that less is known of the part he played than is known of the contribution of Hywel ap Tudur of Mostyn or even of Ieuan ap Adda of Pengwern but the key to his participation may lie in his connection with the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan, the linchpin of the revolt in Gwynedd. The significance of kinship links among the uchelwyr has recently been examined in connection with the revolt and the part of the descendants of Ednyfed, better known as Wyrion Eden, is of key importance since they were at the centre of a web of family and marriage connections, and the roots of the revolt and of their own involvement go back a good deal earlier than 1400; Pengwern, Mostyn and

113. R. R. Davies, 'Owain Glyn Dŵr and the Welsh squirearchy' in Trans. Cymm., 1968, p. 166.

114. Glyn Roberts, 'The Anglesey submissions of 1406' in B.B.C.S. XV, i, (1952), p. 59.

115. P.R.O. Chester 3/23/9.

116. J. E. Messham, 'The county of Flint and the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr' in Jnl. Flints. Hist. Soc. XXIII (1967-8), p. 14.

Gloddaith, as well as Glyn Dwr himself, were connected with them by marriage.

Nothing is known of the details of Rhys's involvement but Wyrion Eden seem to have been involved from the start and it would have been surprising if they had not brought their Anglesey and Caernarvonshire kinsmen with them. But Rhys did eventually submit and he recovered his lands; he made fine for his Flintshire properties about 1406 and he must have made his peace with the North Wales authorities around the same time.¹¹⁷ He seems to have suffered no lasting damage apart, presumably, from a fine. Again, there is little evidence of the purchase of land; in 1394 Rhys acquired land, a mill-leet, a watermill called Melin Bach and a weir in Porthaethwy, and land in Gloddaith and Hendrefwion from Tudur ap Philip ap Gwrgant, a distant kinsman.¹¹⁸ This was a conveyance within the family group; Melin Bach belonged to Gwely Dafydd ap Mabon in 1352, so Rhys was probably buying out one of the other heirs of the gwely. On 2 December, 1410, he conveyed all his property in Rhyd to John de Hokes;¹¹⁹ since Rhyd was Mostyn property in the following century this must be the surviving evidence of a more complicated transaction. According to the Anglesey antiquary Henry Rowlands, Rhys's lands were confiscated during the revolt and he lost half Tregarnedd when he was pardoned, this half being subsequently sold to Gwilym ap Gruffydd of Penrhyn.¹²⁰ No contemporary evidence bears this out but the original manuscript of the 1352 extent includes an interlineated entry for that township, written after 1480, which records William ap Gruffydd (of Penrhyn) and Margaret ferch Gruffydd ap Rhys as the heirs there and the evidence collected for an Exchequer action in 1608 also contains some information about the devolution of lands in the township.¹²¹ Rowlands also printed a grant dated 13 October, 1425, by Hywel ap Ilywelyn ap Dafydd, free tenant of Carnan, of all the tenements and lands there, formerly of Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog,

117. P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/3.

118. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4084.

119. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2317.

120. H. Rowlands, 'Antiquitates Parochiales: Tregarnedd' in Arch. Camb., 1849, p. 192.

121. A. D. Carr, 'The extent of Anglesey, 1352' in Trans. A.A.S., 1971-2, p. 249; P.R.O. E134/5 James I/M9; E134/5 James I/H1 (Depositions by Commission).

to Gwilym ap Gruffydd; ¹²² the present whereabouts of this deed ~~is~~ ^{are} unknown. Rhys does seem to have disposed of his Porthaethwy lands to Gwilym ap Gruffydd soon after the revolt; the detailed 1413 rental of the Penrhyn estate includes extensive property in that township and a share of the ferry, and internal evidence points to a Gloddaith connection. ¹²³ It could, perhaps, be suggested that these lands were sold to raise the money to pay the fine imposed on Rhys for his rebellion. Gwilym ap Gruffydd was certainly in the market for property in Anglesey; he built up an extensive estate out of the wreckage of the properties of his Wyrion Eden kinsmen who somehow lacked his subtle appreciation of the correct moment at which to change sides. ¹²⁴

There is no record of Rhys's activities after the revolt. Like most of his contemporaries he must have had his memories but there was probably a tacit agreement to forget the past decade. ¹²⁵ One thing, however, seems certain on the basis of the existing evidence; the Gloddaith family never held office in the principality again. The pedigrees do not agree about Rhys's marriage; most of them state that he married Gwerfyl, the daughter of Dafydd Fychan ap Dafydd Llwyd of Trefeilir in Anglesey and was thus the brother-in-law of Maredudd ap Tudur ap Goronwy, father of Owen Tudor. ¹²⁶ By this marriage he had a son, Gruffydd, and two daughters, Mallt, who married Hywel ap Madog ap Ieuan, and Gwenllian, who married Llywelyn ap Tudur of Penrhyn Creuddyn. According to a pedigree among the Mostyn papers, however, Rhys married Catrin, the daughter of Robin Llwyd ap Gruffydd ap Goronwy ap Ednyfed Fychan. ¹²⁷

Gruffydd ap Rhys was the last male heir of Gloddaith. Even less is known of him than of his father; indeed there is little fifteenth-century evidence of

122. H. Rowlands, 'Antiquitates Parochiales: Carman' in Arch. Camb., 1849, p. 283.

123. U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 1599.

124. For the rise of the house of Penrhyn see J. R. Jones, 'The development of the Penrhyn estate up to 1431' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1955) and Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 206-12.

125. This point is discussed by Ifor Williams, Iolo Goch ac Eraill (2nd ed., 1937), pp. 1-111.

126. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 183.

127. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 184. Robin Ddu's elegy on the children of Gruffydd ap Rhys refers to them as descendants of Robin Llwyd.

any of the Mostyn components. Henry Rowlands, writing in the early eighteenth century, quoted a grant by Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd 'free tenant of the king in the township of Tregarnedd', dated 2 November, 1467, to Gwilym Fychan of Penrhyn of land called Ynys Cefni below the township along with the right of making a ditch called Apeledych.¹²⁸ As with the conveyance of property in Carnan mentioned earlier, it is not known where this deed now is, or, indeed, whether it still exists. There is no other record evidence relating to Gruffydd during his lifetime but he was the first of his line to attract the attention of the poets. Two poems have survived, one by Robin Ddu ap Siencyn and the other by Tudur Aled; the first of these commemorates not a family tragedy but a catastrophe.¹²⁹ Gruffydd and his wife Sioned, the daughter of Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Hywel, had eight children, five sons and three daughters;¹³⁰ in 1448 seven of these children, Dafydd, Gwilym, Rhys, Llywelyn, Siôn, Catrin, and Annes, died of the plague. Robin Ddu sang their elegy but the formal notes of the cywydd marwnad can have brought little comfort to the parents. One daughter, Margaret was left

Darfu o'r benadurfainc
 I dwyn i gyd ond un gainc
 Da yw'r un, mab Duw a ro
 Cynnydd ar y gainc honno¹³¹

and she became sole heiress of Gloddaith: the poem indicates that Gloddaith was the chief residence of the family. When Gruffydd himself died his elegy was sung by one of the greatest poets of the time, Tudur Aled;¹³² this poem contains little information of the sort which so often makes contemporary poetry a valuable historical source but Tudur does refer to the fact that Margaret, Gruffydd's heiress, has brought Gloddaith and Mostyn together:

128. H. Rowlands in Arch. Camb., 1849, p. 189.

129. The text of the poem is printed, with a translation, in R. Williams, The History and Antiquities of the Town of Aberconwy and its Neighbourhood (1835), p. 128.

130. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 184.

131. 'They are gone from their high seat, they are all taken except one branch; this one is good, may the son of God give it increase'.

132. Gwaith Tudur Aled, II, p. 340.

Ei air i'w ferch, a'i âr fyth,
Ag i'w hil a'i gwehelyth;
Aed â Rhos, i dir i hun,
Arfau, ystod, ar Fostyn.¹³³

The poem also reveals that Sioned survived her husband, who was buried in the church of Eglwys Rhos.

Gruffydd ap Rhys died on 5 October, 1480, and the inquisition post mortem on his Anglesey lands was taken at Hirdre-faig on 18 December.¹³⁴ He held 9 messuages and 80 acres in Nantbychan, worth 60s. annually, and 10 messuages and 167 acres in Tregarnedd, worth 66s. 8d. of the prince in chief by military service and one toft and 4 acres in Carnan by the customary rents and services. In Caernarvonshire he held a messuage and 185 acres in Gloddaith, 4 tenements and 22 acres in Rhiwledin and Cyngreawdr in the bishop of Bangor's manor of Gogarth in Creuddyn, and 3 tenements and 208 acres in Dolbadarn in Is Gwyrfai. The Dolbadarn and Gloddaith lands were held of the prince by one quarter of a knight's fee and the Gogarth lands of the bishop by the customary rents and services. His heir was his daughter Margaret who was then at least 29 years old; if she was the survivor in 1448 she must have been a few years older. The Tregarnedd, Nantbychan, and Dolbadarn lands had come to the family as a result of the marriage of Madog Gloddaith and this is the only reference to the possession of the last-named property. The total annual value of the Caernarvonshire lands, was £9. 7s. 9d.; the figures given in the inquisition are far from exact but they are an indicator of the size and distribution of the Gloddaith estates.

Margaret married twice. Her first husband was Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan of Pengwern and Mostyn and it was this marriage that united the Gloddaith and Mostyn estates although it was a long time before the head of the house of Mostyn enjoyed the Gloddaith property. The first heir to all three estates was Margaret's son, Richard ap Hywel, but Hywel was dead by 1480 and by then Margaret had married her second husband Henry Salusbury, the second son of Thomas Salusbury Hen of

133. '(He gave) his word to his daughter and his land for ever, and to her progeny and lineage; let her take Rhos, his own land, the arms a sheaf, to Mostyn'. A sheaf was part of the arms attributed to Sir Gruffydd Llwyd of Tregarnedd, Margaret's ancestor. (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 11a).

134. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 775.

Lleweni in the lordship of Denbigh.¹³⁵ Consequently her lands passed to him in his lifetime according to custom and he did homage for them in 1480.¹³⁶ Henry was granted the manor of Mostyn for 20 years in 1489 but since it was granted to his step-son Richard ap Hywel in 1501 he must have been dead by then;¹³⁷ he was certainly dead by 1515 since Margaret is described as a widow in a deed of that year.¹³⁸ She retained the lands for the rest of her life, dying on 30 March, 1532; the escheator of Caernarvonshire accounted for 47s. 5½d. of the issues of half 185 acres in Gloddaith and 4 tenements and 26 acres in Rhiwledin and Cyngreawdr.¹³⁹ This was all the property for which he accounted; on 5 July, 1526, Margaret had granted property in Gloddaith, Cyngreawdr, and Bryniau in Creuddyn, Eleirnon in Uwch Gwyrfai, Dolbadarn, and Nantbychan to Richard Hughes, rector of Llanbedr and Richard Mutton, chaplain, to the use of Henry Salusbury, her son by her second marriage.¹⁴⁰ The following day Henry released his interest in a windmill in Conway and land in Gloddaith to his mother and his brother Richard ap Hywel.¹⁴¹ These two deeds seem to have been part of a move by Margaret to put her affairs in order and sort out the devolution of the estate during her own lifetime; they were followed on 8 July by a bond in £200 from Henry Salusbury the younger to Richard ap Hywel agreeing that Richard should inherit the Gloddaith estate on Margaret's death and binding himself to accept this.¹⁴² The escheator returned that Margaret's heir at her death was Richard, who was then 64 years old. Margaret did purchase lands from time to time during her life, sometimes in conjunction with her second husband, sometimes with Richard, and sometimes on her own account; her last purchase was as late as 1528.¹⁴³ Most of these properties seem to have adjoined ones which Margaret already held, so her acquisitions may have been intended to round off existing

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135. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 63.
136. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 775.
137. C.R.R. II, pp. 554, 555.
138. N.L.W. Thorne 203.
139. P.R.O. S.C.6/4948/Henry VIII.
140. N.L.W. Thorne 112.
141. N.L.W. Thorne 143.
142. N.L.W. Thorne 146.
143. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1010.

possessions. The process of consolidation in Gloddaith was to continue during the following century.

Bards sang to Margaret as they had to her father. Tudur Aled and Lewys Môn both sang to her and the latter also sang to her second husband Henry Salusbury. Both poets praised her liberality; indeed, this is the main burden of Tudur's song and he sang of food and wine in the best tradition of the period:¹⁴⁴

Uchel yw'r gaer uwchlaw'r gwin,
Uwch yw ager o'i chegin;
Gwaith rhost ag wyth eiriastan,
Gwresog yw'r cōg, a'r siwgr can

Margaret's hospitality and liberality seem to have been exceptional, even by the poet's standards; nobody was turned from her door. This poem must have been composed after the death of Henry Salusbury since there is no mention of either of her husbands and in one line the poet calls her 'merch weddw'. He also mentions her grandchildren, which must mean that her children by her first marriage at least were adults. There are two poems about Gloddaith by Lewys Môn, one addressed to Margaret and the other to her husband. The first poem again praised her generosity, but there is more to it besides.¹⁴⁵ Lewys praised the house itself with its whitewashed walls; the houses of uchelwyr seem generally to have been whitewashed.¹⁴⁶ And there is a reference to the family's Lancastrian sympathies:

Tre tad yn y wlad ni wedd
Ti â'r Wennol trwy Wynedd
Dy farwdir, hir yw hyn;
Hyd y drysau dod rosyn.¹⁴⁷

The Swallow was one of the terms used by poets to describe Henry VII and there is

144. Gwaith Tudur Aled, I, p. 166: 'High is the fortress above the wine, higher is the steam from the kitchen; roasting with eight hot fires, hot is the cook, and the fine sugar'.

145. E. I. Rowlands, 'Bywyd a gwaith Lewys Môn' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1955), p. 291.

146. See, for example, Rhys Goch Eryri, 'I lys Gwilym ap Gruffydd o'r Penrhyn' in Iolo Goch ac Eraill, p. 310.

147. 'The patrimony in the country is not fitting for you who took the Swallow through Gwynedd, your territory which should be extensive; put the rose on your doors'. The implication is probably that Margaret was not sufficiently rewarded by Henry Tudor for her support.

certainly no doubt of Richard ap Hywel's support for his Tudor kinsman (their great-grandfathers married sisters).¹⁴⁸ Like Tudur Aled, Lewys referred to Margaret as a widow, which again suggests compositions after the death of Henry Salusbury, and he called on her to complete her work on Gloddaith:

Gorffen di, Elen, dy waith,
Gwraig, Luyddog, ar Gloddaith.¹⁴⁹

It has been suggested that this couplet refers to the reclamation of land from the sea but it is far more likely to refer to the rebuilding of the house;¹⁵⁰ the hall, which is the oldest part of the building, dates from the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁵¹ Lewys's poem to Henry Salusbury seems to point to the same conclusion. The family historian also commented on the lines

Gorau gwedda, gwraig addwyn,
Ganmorec yt; nis gwnai mo'r cwyn.¹⁵²

suggesting that this might be a veiled request for a contribution to Henry Tudor's campaign fund, but if the suggested dating of the poem is correct this would be ruled out;¹⁵³ in any case, the lines quoted hardly make this sense. The cywydd addressed to Henry Salusbury must have been composed earlier than that to the widowed Margaret. This poem has more to say about the rebuilding and extension which seems to have been carried out at this time:

Llawn olwg, lle ni welon,
Yn dremio haul ar drum hon;
Dy lys a drig dan deils draw,
Dysglau aur yn disgleiriaw.
Nid ymg'leddwyd am Gloddaith
Nes i ti osod dy waith;
D'aur a furiaist ar furiau,
Dyma hwynt wedi mwyhau.

149. 'Finish your task, Elen of the Hosts, lady of Gloddaith'.

150. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 65, n. 6; this was, of course, published before Mr. Rowlands had established a reliable text.

151. R.C.A.H.M. Inventory, Caernarvonshire I (East) (1956), p. 178a.

152. 'A hundred marks best befits you; there is no need for complaint'. In the context of this section of the poem, the couplet probably refers to Margaret's income.

153. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 65, n. 8.

148. E. I. Rowlands, Op. cit. According to W. Leslie Richards, Gwaith Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn (1964), p. 192, the term was usually applied to Owen Tudor, Margaret's father's cousin.

Ti a wnaï bob tŷ'n newydd
Ti a wnaud un tŷ'n y dydd.
Mur o galch. Pand mawr y gwaith?
Mudo clawdd Madog Gloddaith.¹⁵⁴

This rebuilding and also this notable generosity to the poets may reflect a new prosperity although the actual Gloddaith estate was no larger. This may have been the result of Margaret's marriages; the first, to Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan, had brought Gloddaith, Mostyn and Pengwern together, which meant that their heir was very well provided for. The Salusburies, too, were far from being dependent on Margaret's patrimony; they were already one of the leading families in the lordship of Denbigh of which Henry himself was receiver between 1490 and 1492.¹⁵⁵ This meant that more resources were available for rebuilding, particularly for the hall, which is the oldest part of the present structure, and for that conspicuous consumption of which the patronage of poets was so often a part. No evidence of patronage by the Gloddaith family has survived for the period before Margaret's marriage, with the exception of Robin Ddu's elegy on her brothers and sisters and Robin Ddu was not a poet in the same class as Tudur and Lewys who were among the leading poets of their time and among the greatest masters of the cywydd form.

When the Gloddaith estates passed to Richard ap Hywel in 1532 their separate existence came to an end. Henceforth they were to form part of the Mostyn estates although Gloddaith itself was to continue to play an important part in the affairs of the family and was to give it a power base in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey in addition to the one it already had in Flintshire. Thus the house of Gloddaith came to an end. Its heads had been typical members of the official class in Gwynedd; indeed, the family history during the fourteenth century might be said

154. E. I. Rowlands, Op. cit., p. 287; 'A full view, where they do not see the sun, looking on this ridge; your court which dwells beneath the tiles yonder, golden dishes shining. Gloddaith was not succoured until you set to work; you cast your gold on the walls, here they are, having increased. You make every house new, you made one house in a day. A wall of lime; is it not a great work to move Madog Gloddaith's wall?' The suggestion in the first couplet is probably that the house, as rebuilt, outshines the sun.

155. C.P.R. 1485-1494, p. 313; in 1492 he was appointed escheator (*ibid.*, p. 380).

to have been a microcosm of the history of that class. Apart from this, their outstanding characteristic was their longevity. Madog Gloddaith first appeared in a deed of 1298; his last appearance in the records was in 1358. His son Gruffydd appeared for the first time in 1340 and for the last time in 1396. Gruffydd ap Rhys did not die until 1480. And Margaret must have been over 80 when she died in 1532.

(b) Tregarnedd

The townships of Tregarnedd in Menai and Dinorwig in Is Gwyrfaï were among those granted to Ednyfed Fychan by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth to be held by suit of court and military service.¹⁵⁶ When Ednyfed died and his lands were divided among his sons they fell to the share of Gruffydd ap Ednyfed and after his death they passed to his son Rhys. Rhys married Margaret, daughter of John Lestranger, and he granted Tregarnedd to her; this grant was confirmed by Edward I, with reversion to the king, on 20 April, 1285.¹⁵⁷ Both Rhys and his brother Hywel supported Edward during the last years of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd; indeed, Hywel was with the fleet which seized Anglesey in the war of 1282 and was subsequently killed in the English army's unsuccessful attempt to cross the Menai Straits.¹⁵⁸ The two brothers were typical members of the official class and their desertion of Llywelyn seems to have been typical of the attitude of many of their number; in 1282 they made their peace with Edward, if they had not done so already, and they continued to play an important part in the affairs of Gwynedd in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. Rhys had been one of the Welsh members appointed by the king to the Hopton commission of 1278 to settle the numerous disputes which had arisen in the march after the war of 1277, the chief among them being Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's dispute with Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn over Arwystli.¹⁵⁹ The ubiquity of the family is underlined by the fact that another Welsh member of the commission was Goronwy ap Heilin, Ednyfed Fychan's nephew, who supported Llywelyn in 1282, was seneschal to his brother Dafydd, and seems to have died fighting on the Welsh side.¹⁶⁰ Rhys had previously been Llywelyn's bailiff of Buellt but had come over to Edward and entered the royal service in 1277.¹⁶¹

Rhys seems to have died early in 1284.¹⁶² His son Gruffydd, better known as Gruffydd Llwyd, was a very prominent figure indeed in the principality after

156. Glyn Roberts, Aspects of Welsh History, pp. 183-4.

157. Cal. Chanc. R. Var., p. 285.

158. Brut y Tywysogyon (Peniarth 20 version), p. 120; Glyn Roberts, Op. cit., p. 246.

159. J. Conway Davies, The Welsh Assize Roll (1940), p. 86.

160. Survey of Denbigh, p. 295; J. Conway Davies, Op. cit., p. 117.

161. J. Conway Davies, Op. cit., pp. 120-1.

162. Bywgraffiadur, p. 299.

the conquest;¹⁶³ at various times he was sheriff of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire and Merioneth, having been in royal service since the conquest, and he was also responsible for levying troops from North Wales between 1297 and 1314. From 1307 to 1317 he was forester of Snowdon. His contribution to the royal service was such that he had already been knighted by the time Edward of Caernarvon became prince of Wales in 1301. In fact he was the leader of the Welsh official class in North Wales during the reigns of the first two Edwards; his kinsman, Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd was to play a similar part in South Wales a few years later. The justice and chamberlain of North Wales were more important men but they were neither of them as influential as Sir Gruffydd. A letter, probably written in July, 1315, and possibly emanating from Edward II himself, contains instructions for the safeguarding of Anglesey when there was a very real danger of a Scottish attack.¹⁶⁴ Great stress was laid in this letter on the importance of receiving the petitions of 'those who are men of position and can be a help and a hindrance' and the justice and the chamberlain were reminded of the necessity of consulting Gruffydd Llwyd and others. The tone of this letter is one of conciliation and of readiness to redress Welsh grievances; it also shows the power and influence of Sir Gruffydd and the official class.

Sir Gruffydd is best known for his role during the troubles of Edward II's reign from 1322 onwards throughout which the Welsh of the principality remained loyal under his leadership. In 1322 he struck a blow for the king against the baronial party by his capture of Chirk castle, the seat of Mortimer power, and his attacks on other marcher centres and in the last crisis of the reign he again showed his loyalty and was imprisoned for his opposition to the new regime after Edward's fall.¹⁶⁵ But his imprisonment did not last long and he died eventually,

163. The career of Sir Gruffydd is discussed in detail by J. G. Edwards, 'Sir Gruffydd Llwyd', in E.H.R., 1915, pp. 589-601, and in Bywgraffiadur, p. 299; what follows is largely based on these accounts.

164. Cal. Anc. Corr., pp. 253-4.

165. C.C.R., 1327-1330, p. 182.

full of years and honour, in the first half of 1335.¹⁶⁶ He married Gwenllian, daughter of Cynan ap Maredudd, a descendant of the Lord Rhys, and had one son, Ieuan, and several daughters, one of whom, Morfudd, married Madog Gloddaith.¹⁶⁷ Two poems addressed to him by Gwilym Ddu o Arfon have survived;¹⁶⁸ they come from an interesting period between the end of the princes as patrons of the poets and the emergence of the uchelwyr to take their place, but the main point about them is that they were obviously sung during his imprisonment, that is, around 1327.¹⁶⁹ According to the second poem he was imprisoned in Rhuddlan castle although record evidence indicates that Caernarvon was his place of confinement. Another poet, Casnodyn, sang to his wife.¹⁷⁰

In North Wales Sir Gruffydd held Tregarnedd and Dinorwig by military service and suit of court; at the Quo Warranto proceedings of 1348 his son Ieuan claimed a three-weekly court held by his steward for his tenants in the two townships and relief and amobr from his tenants, being himself quit of heriot, amobr, and relief.¹⁷¹ He also claimed cognisance of pleas of contract, debt, and trespass in his court and the assise of ale in Tregarnedd. All these rights were claimed by prescription and were similar to claims by other descendants of Ednyfed at the proceedings. Nantbychan in Twrcelyn was also part of his estate and here again there was jurisdiction over the bondmen;¹⁷² Nantbychan is not mentioned in the 1348 claim but it may have been regarded as part of the Tregarnedd estate. In addition to these properties he had lands in the lordship of Denbigh, where the family originated, at Llanrhystud in Cardiganshire, and at Llansadwrn in Carmarthenshire;¹⁷³ these last two properties were very small and

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166. Cal. I.P.M. VII, p. 453. The inquisition was taken on 12 July, 1335. The tradition that he was executed for rebellion in 1322 is discussed by J. G. Edwards, Op. cit.
167. Bywgraffiadur, p. 300.
168. Myvyrian Archaeology, pp. 275, 276. The poems are discussed by J. Beverley Smith, 'Einion Offeiriad' in B.B.C.S. XX, iv (1964), pp. 341-2.
169. J. Beverley Smith, Op. cit., p. 342.
170. John Morris-Jones, T. H. Parry-Williams, eds. Llawysgrif Hendregadredd (1933), p. 331.
171. Record of Caernarvon, pp. 167-8.
172. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 11a; A. D. Carr, in Trans. A.A.S., 1971-2 p. 226.
173. Cal. Chanc. R. Var., p. 293; Cal. I.P.M. VII, p. 453.

may have been his share of lands which had come to Ednyfed Fychan through his marriage to Gwenllian, a daughter of the Lord Rhys. He purchased land at least once, in about 1313, when he acquired property in Llangefni from Hywel ap Iorwerth of Talybolion.¹⁷⁴

All Sir Gruffydd's lands passed to Ieuan, a cleric who by 1340 had become archdeacon of Anglesey.¹⁷⁵ Like many of his clerical brethren Ieuan was involved in the Shaldeford affair of 1345; his name appears on the list of those attainted of conspiracy and at large.¹⁷⁶ In 1348 he appeared at the Quo Warranto proceedings to defend his rights in Tregarnedd and Dinorwig; he was dead by 1352 when half the township of Dolbadarn was in the hands of his heirs, though the jurors did not know by what service they held.¹⁷⁷ There is no mention of Tregarnedd in the printed text of the extent, although an entry was inserted in the Caernarvon exchequer's copy towards the end of the fifteenth century, but Nantbychan was held by Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith by suit to the county and the hundred; the bondmen had to attend the sheriff's tourn and owed suit to Gruffydd's mill at Cadnant in Dindaethwy.¹⁷⁸

Since he was a cleric Ieuan left no legitimate heirs. The South Wales lands passed into the possession of his kinsman Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, while those in North Wales appear to have been divided among his sisters, which is how the Tregarnedd inheritance passed to the Gloddaith family.¹⁷⁹ The inquisition post mortem of Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith, taken in 1480, records a total of 167 acres in Tregarnedd, 80 acres in Nantbychan and 208 acres in Dolbadarn but a survey of the Mostyn estates made in 1618 rates Tregarnedd at over 500 acres and Nantbychan at about 260;¹⁸⁰ there is no evidence of land purchase in Anglesey by the Mostyns during the intervening period so these figures may be fairly accurate. The Dolbadarn lands may have been disposed of during the

174. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 731.

175. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3264 where he appears as a witness.

176. Cal. Anc. Corr., p. 228.

177. Record of Caernarvon, p. 18.

178. A. D. Carr, Op. cit., p. 226.

179. J. Beverley Smith in B.B.C.S. XX, iv, p. 341.

180. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 775; 6478.

sixteenth century and Tregarnedd was sold in 1750 to a Mr. Owen Williams of Anglesey.¹⁸¹

According to some pedigrees Sir Gruffydd Llwyd had seven daughters;¹⁸² he certainly seems to have had more than one. This poses a question about lands in Tregarnedd and Dolbadarn; in 1385-6 the escheators of the commote of Menai answered for 41s. 8½d. of the issues of half the township of Tregarnedd because of the death of Guido de Hendwr (of Hendwr in Edeirnion), who had held it of the king in chief by barony, on account of the minority of his sons.¹⁸³ His widow Lleucu had one-third of this half in dower. In another account, in 1391-2, the escheator accounted for 30s. of the issues of another quarter of the township, late of David Hendwr, who held it of the king in chief by suit to the county;¹⁸⁴ Guido's elder son Dafydd had come of age in the same year. In 1408-9 the escheator accounted for 30s. 6d. of the issues of two parts of a quarter of the township which David Hendwr had held which had been delivered to Robert Rossendale by the prince's letters patent;¹⁸⁵ another source records that the lands of Dafydd ap Giwn (Guido) and his brother Ieuan had been granted to Rossendale and his English heirs in Anglesey for good service during the revolt.¹⁸⁶ This indicates that the lands in question had been forfeited by the Hendwr family for their part in the Glyn Dwr revolt.¹⁸⁷ The family also had a share of the Dolbadarn property; in 1380-1 the escheator of Caernarvonshire accounted for 10s.

181. T. Pennant, The History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell (1796), p. 56.

182. Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 162, 389.

183. P.R.O. S.C.6/1151/2.

184. P.R.O. S.C.6/1151/7.

185. P.R.O. S.C.6/1233/1.

186. P.R.O. E315/166.

187. In 1606-7 Owen Wood of Rhosmor brought an Exchequer action against the various freeholders of Tregarnedd, including Sir Thomas Mostyn, alleging that one-eighth of the township was crown land held by him on lease. (P.R.O. E112/144(Anglesey)/54). The ensuing depositions (P.R.O. E134/5 Jas. I/M9; E134/5 Jas. I/H1) show that this land was claimed to have once been the property of one Gruffydd ap Gruffydd (possibly Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith), but none of the deponents had ever heard of him; it may, however, have originally been the land forfeited by the Hendwr family. The case is discussed in Chapter VIII of this study.

issues of a messuage and 22 acres there, late of Guido, because of the minority of his sons Dafydd and Ieuan;¹⁸⁸ again Lleucu held one-third in dower.¹⁸⁹ And in 1394-5 the escheator answered for 16s. 6½d. of the issues of two parts of two messuages and 62 acres in Dolbadarn which David Hendwr held by suit to the county and military service;¹⁹⁰ his son and heir Thomas was under age and one-third was delivered to his widow Elizabeth and her new husband.

The Hendwr line was one of the group of families, all descended from Owain Brogyntyn, one of the sons of Madog ap Maredudd of Powys, who were known as the barons of Edeirnion and who held that commote by the tenure called pennaeth or Welsh barony.¹⁹¹ They were among the last surviving members of the native Welsh aristocracy, the descendants of the Welsh royal houses who retained their rights in what little was left of their ancestral lands;¹⁹² the best-known member of this class was Owain Glyn Dwr. Guido de Hendwr was Giwn ap Dafydd ap Madog of Hendwr who died in 1376;¹⁹³ his brother Dafydd also had a share in the Tregarnedd and Dolbadarn lands. According to some pedigrees their grandfather, Madog ap Gruffydd of Hendwr, married a daughter of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, which would explain their share of the Tregarnedd inheritance after the death of Ieuan the archdeacon.¹⁹⁴

Gloddaith and Tregarnedd were two of the Five Courts but they are really the least interesting of the Mostyn components. The Gloddaith line, in particular,

188. P.R.O. S.C.6/1172/10.

189. P.R.O. S.C.6/1173/3.

190. P.R.O. S.C.6/1174/5.

191. For the Hendwr family see A. D. Carr, 'An Edeirnion inquisition, 1390' in Journ. Mer. Hist. & Rec. Soc., VI, i (1969), pp. 1-7 and A. D. Carr, 'The barons of Edeirnion, 1282-1485', in ibid., IV, iii (1963), pp. 187-93 and iv. (1964), pp. 289-301.

192. This class is discussed by A. D. Carr, 'An aristocracy in decline; the native Welsh lords after the Edwardian conquest' in W.H.R. V, ii (1970), pp. 103-29.

193. According to one source (Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 162, 389) Guido married Elizabeth (p. 162) or Alice (p. 389), the daughter of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd. These pedigrees are, however, incorrect; his wife was Lleucu, daughter of Goronwy ap Gruffydd ap Madog of Penllyn.

194. W. W. E. Wynne, 'The descent of the ancient barony of Hendour, or Hendwr, in the county of Merioneth' in Mont. Coll. VII (1874), p. 390; the daughter was called either Eva or Gwenllian. Some sources give Madog's wife as Eva; daughter of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn (e.g. N.L.W. Peniarth 127, p. 31) but the Tregarnedd inheritance suggests that the Gruffydd Llwyd connection is correct.

was so typical of the official class that it could almost be taken as a model but there is less to be learned from its examination than there is from Pengwern and certainly from Mostyn itself. Nevertheless, the Gloddaith strand was an important one in the subsequent history of the Mostyns and the house certainly became more important to them than did Pengwern. And the family ignored no part of its ancestry; the supposed arms of Madog Gloddaith and Sir Gruffydd Llwyd enjoyed the same prominence and honour as those of Tudur Trefor, Ednyfed Fychan and Edwin of Tegeingl.

CHAPTER FOUR

THOMAS AND WILLIAM MOSTYN, 1540-1576

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Thomas, the eldest son of Richard ap Hywel, inherited the estate from his father early in 1540. Mostyn, Pengwern, and Gloddaith were now united and Thomas can therefore be described as the first of the Mostyns. Indeed, he was the first in every sense of the word; this was the period when the greater Welsh families were beginning to substitute surnames for the traditional Welsh form of nomenclature, though it was to be two or three centuries before the new fashion worked its way down to the lowest levels of society.¹ Some men stabilised their names, as it were, by adopting the patronymic, which explains why Wales is a land of Joneses, Owens, and Williamses. Some settled for a personal epithet, which created the many Vaughans and Wynns, among others, and some, like Thomas Mostyn, took the names of their houses. According to tradition Thomas adopted his surname in 1539 by order of Rowland Lee, the president of the Council in the Marches.² Lee, so the story goes, was attending the Flintshire Great Sessions; he had had enough of all the 'aps' among the jurors which made each man a walking pedigree and ordered that each man should either assume his patronymic or the name of his residence.³ However, the documents reveal that Thomas's change of name was a gradual one. In a deed of 1541 he was Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel, while in 1544 he had become Thomas Mostyn alias Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel.⁴ In 1545 he was again Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel though yet another document from the previous year had described him as Thomas Mostyn.⁵ By 1547 the surname seems to have become established.⁶

Thomas was born on 2 May, 1490 and was therefore nearly 50 when he inherited

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1. R. M. & G. A. Benwell, 'Interpreting the census returns for rural Anglesey and Llŷn' in Trans. A.A.S., 1973, pp. 115-6.
 2. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 83.
 3. Pennant, Tours I, p. 19.
 4. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4175, 1016.
 5. N.L.W. Thorne 46, 150.
 6. For example, U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 756.

the estate.⁷ In 1517 he married Jane, daughter of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn in Caernarvonshire, chamberlain of North Wales; the pre-nuptial agreement was dated 6 May, 1517, and it stipulated that the marriage was to take place before 15 August.⁸ Richard ap Hywel undertook to settle lands of the annual value of 20 marks on the young couple and the settlement provided for every eventuality. If Thomas died before consummating the marriage another son would marry Jane and if Jane died Sir William agreed to provide another daughter. Richard was to convey his lands in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Flintshire, and Chirkland to feoffees to his use for life with remainder to Thomas and his heirs by Jane or to any other son who might marry any other daughter, thereby creating an entail. Sir William, for his part, undertook to pay Richard £100, 40 marks at the marriage and then annual instalments of 20 marks until the portion had been paid in full. The aim of the agreement was an alliance between Mostyn and Penrhyn, the greatest house in North Wales; it was, in effect, a marriage treaty and it underlines the position which the house of Mostyn had now attained. This class had always taken marriage extremely seriously; a good alliance could be both territorially and financially profitable and more than one marriage was sometimes arranged between two families in successive generations.⁹

Some provision was made for Thomas by his father during his own lifetime. The size and distribution of the Mostyn estate meant that it was easy to provide the heir, and sometimes some of the younger sons as well, with self-contained properties for their maintenance. Thomas's younger brother Piers was acquiring

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7. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 185. This is a list of the children of Thomas Mostyn, giving the date and time of birth in each case, along with those of the parents, and may therefore have had some astrological significance. The document, in a seventeenth-century hand, bears the note 'Taken from an old book which Fowk the llyfrwr has, 1683'. Richard ap Hywel's inquisition post mortem states incorrectly that Thomas was 44 at the time of his father's death (P.R.O. S.C.6/4695/Henry VIII).
 8. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 91, reproduced in Appendix E (1); Richard's brother Rhys was a trustee.
 9. For a brief discussion of contemporary attitudes to marriage see G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales (1964), pp. 14-5; the Mostyn marriages from 1517 are examined in detail in Chapter IX of this study.

lands on his own account as early as 1524 and Thomas was associated with his father in the arrangements for providing him with an inheritance; in June, 1530, he confirmed Richard ap Hywel's deed of gift.¹⁰ In 1535 he granted a lease of land in Kelston jointly with his father and the following year he leased the manor house of Trecastell to Richard Johnson, a burgess of Beaumaris, for 32 years, which suggests that Richard had already conveyed Trecastell to him to provide him with a living and the means to maintain his wife.¹¹ Soon after inheriting the estate, on 2 March, 1540, Thomas bound himself to Piers in 500 marks to perform the award of Fulk Salusbury, dean of St. Asaph, Thomas Salusbury, John Salusbury, steward of Denbigh, and Robert Salusbury of Rug, all of them kinsmen of his mother, the arbitrators chosen to judge actions concerning the testament, goods and chattels of Richard ap Hywel.¹² Richard had long ago settled the devolution of the estate and provided for Piers;¹³ in his will he left him his residuary estate and made him sole executor. The following year Thomas took steps to secure the future of the property; a marriage was arranged between his eldest surviving son William and Margaret, daughter of Robert ap Hywel, an Oswestry draper and descendant of Ieuan Fychan of Moeliwrth in Cynllaith.¹⁴ Under the terms of the settlement, dated 10 April, 1541, Margaret's jointure comprised lands in Trefednywain, Cilcain, Bagillt, Tre'r Abad, Nannerch, and Whitford Garn and Plas Uchaf in Mostyn.¹⁵ The Trecastell, Tregwehelyth, and Nantbychan properties and all Thomas's lands in Rhiwledin were conveyed to the use of William and his heirs male by Margaret and in default to his heirs female until every daughter should have a marriage portion of 100 marks out of the rents, at which time the lands would revert to Thomas and his heirs. The entail was also to be renewed and this was done on 18 April.¹⁶

10. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3270; for Piers's acquisitions see Clwyd R.O., schedule of Mostyn of Talacre MSS. (D/MT).

11. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2528, 755.

12. Clwyd R.O., D/MT/5.

13. This is discussed in Chapter I of this study.

14. For Margaret's ancestry see Powys Fadog, III, p. 405; the family subsequently became that of Powell of Whittington Park.

15. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4175; Margaret's portion was £200.

16. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3271.

The marriage of the eldest son was usually the occasion for the settlement of the estate.¹⁷ The strict settlement limited the interest of the father and eldest son to a life tenancy, giving the estate tail to the future eldest son of the marriage. In each generation the entail was renewed on the marriage of the heir, thereby ensuring that nobody ever had more than a life interest. In the sixteenth century younger sons were often provided for by the fathers carving an estate for them out of the main body, which was what Richard ap Hywel had done for Piers in 1526, thereby creating the Talacre estate. Thomas did not follow suit, but later Mostyns were to return to the practice. William's marriage shows that the Mostyns looked east as well as west in their choice of partners and these wives brought useful portions with them.

Thomas does not appear to have added very much to the estate; between 1540 and his death in 1558 he made very few purchases and none of these were properties of any size.¹⁸ A good deal of the Anglesey property appears to have been out on lease; in 1546, for example, Thomas conveyed Tregarnedd to his brother-in-law John Griffith of Penrhyn and Roger Davies of Gloddaith, chaplain, by fine.¹⁹ The following year they leased the manor house and appurtenant lands to William Glynne of Caernarvon, serjeant-at-arms to Henry VIII and ancestor of the Glynne family of Lleuar in Clynnog Fawr for 40 years at a peppercorn rent for the first 20 and £5 annually for the rest of the term.²⁰ The lease was surrendered

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17. This is discussed by M. E. Finch, The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640 (1956), pp. 55-6; for another Welsh example see U.C.N.W. Bodrhyddan 2 (Piers Conway and Agnes Wyrall, 1547), also H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540-1640 (1968), p. 50, for an example from Pembrokeshire.
 18. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1016 (Gloddaith), 2532-3 (Kelston), 3038 (Whitford Garn and Trefednywain); N.L.W. Thorne 61 (Rhiwledin).
 19. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 758 (Trecastell weir, 1554); N.L.W. Thorne 46 (half Tregwehelyth, 1545) and Gwynedd Archives Service (Caernarvon), Glynllifon MSS., 28 February, 1554/5 (formerly N.L.W. Glynllifon 9: site of Nantbychan mill).
 20. During his tenure of the lease William Glynne brought a Chancery action against certain persons in Tregarnedd alleging trespass; in his bill of complaint (P.R.O. C1/1123/23) he stated that Edward Griffith (of Penrhyn) now deceased, had been lawfully seised of the lands in question by virtue of a lease to him by Thomas Mostyn for 15 years from 1 November, 1543. Griffith had subsequently conveyed the lease to him. In the lease to William Glynne John Griffith is described as 'tenant for life of half Tregarnedd manor'.

to Thomas's grandson and namesake in 1577 by Glynne's daughter Gaynor.²¹ Three days after the lease the lessors conveyed all their lands and tenements in Tregarnedd to Thomas Mostyn, which suggests that the original fine was a collusive action to facilitate the lease of the house and break the entail;²² William Glynne and his nephew William Glynne of Glynllifon were among the witnesses to the second conveyance and the lease might be explained by the fact that Glynne was Thomas's son-in-law, having married his daughter Grace as his second wife.²³ Thomas also acquired properties by lease from time to time, as in 1547 when his stepmother-in-law Dame Jane Griffith and her son William assigned their lease of Gogarth and other townships in Creuddyn which formed part of the bishop of Bangor's manor of Gogarth to him.²⁴ In 1550 he himself leased the manor from bishop Arthur Bulkeley for 300 years at an annual rent of £13. 6s. 8d. but this transaction was not as straightforward as it seems;²⁵ the Gogarth lease was to lead to a good deal of argument and even litigation in later years but this was the beginning of the family connection with the manor.²⁶ The Mostyn deeds also include one or two deeds of exchange to which Thomas was a party but they are not of any great importance, the purpose of such transactions being usually to round off properties or rationalise boundaries.

The surviving family papers give the impression that the younger brother Piers was far more enterprising than Thomas. Throughout his life he was purchasing land to build up his Talacre estate, the nucleus of which had originally been granted him by his father; he obtained Talacre itself in 1539.²⁷ In 1545 he even bought the reversion of a tenement in Gronant from Thomas and William for £20.²⁸ Although the Talacre family were subsequently Roman Catholics, Piers,

21. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 721.

22. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 720.

23. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 93; Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 270. William Glynne of Glynllifon was also Thomas's son-in-law.

24. N.L.W. Thorne 249; the lease had been granted by the bishop in 1540 (N.L.W. Thorne 40).

25. N.L.W. Thorne 287.

26. The disputes over the Gogarth lease are examined in Chapter VIII of this study.

27. C.R.R. III, p. 268.

28. Calendar of Ancient Deeds, VI, C7576; there are a number of deeds relating to acquisitions by Piers in this class.

like the founders of so many recusant houses, took advantage of the dissolution of the monasteries and obtained a lease of Basingwerk Abbey lands in 1551 when he was described as 'servant to Lord Somerset'.²⁹ In this and in his connection with one of the magnates of the realm Piers was more typical of his class than was his brother and he seems also to have played a greater part in public life; he represented the county of Flint in the parliament elected in 1545 and a Piers Mostyn represented the Flintshire boroughs in that of 1557.³⁰ He was sheriff of Flintshire in 1552-3.³¹ Thomas held few offices. He was sheriff of Anglesey in 1553-4 but never held that office in Flintshire although his was one of the three names put forward more than once.³² He never sat in parliament. In 1539 he attended the county muster with William, six servants in harness, and 39 others and in 1544 he and Piers were among the gentry mustered for the army to go to France.³³ He was one of the commissioners appointed to collect the subsidy of 1545 in Flintshire and he was assessed in Whitford at £4; his heir William was assessed on his lands at 26s. 8d.³⁴ In 1551 he was again a commissioner, this time to collect the subsidy in Flintshire, Anglesey, and Caernarvonshire.³⁵ But the real key to local influence or, rather, the

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29. E. A. Lewis & J. Conway Davies, eds., Calendar of the Records of the Court of Augmentations relating to Wales and Monmouthshire (1954), p. 396; for other documents relating to Piers's acquisition of the site of the abbey see Clwyd R.O., D/MT/679-80. For accounts of Piers see Lord Mostyn, 'Piers Mostyn the first of Talacre' in Journ. Flints. Hist. Soc., XI (1925), pp. 45-8 and R. Alun Charles, 'Teulu Mostyn fel noddwyr y beirdd' in Llên Cymru IX (1966), pp. 98-101.
30. Return of Members of Parliament I, pp. xxiii, 399. Miss Enid Roberts, to whom I am indebted for much fruitful discussion of the Mostyn family during this period, has suggested that the Piers who sat in the 1557 parliament was the eldest son of Piers Mostyn the first, pointing out that representation of the boroughs tended to precede membership for the county in the cursus honorum of the gentry.
31. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 254.
32. Ibid., p. 236; L. & P. Henry VIII, XVI (1540-1), p. 644 (described as Thomas Mostyn alias Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel); C.P.R., 1553, p. 387.
33. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 94, n. 1; L. & P. Henry VIII, XIX (i) (1544), p. 156. The muster of 1544 was for the campaign of that year which followed the treaty of 1543 with Charles V and which culminated in the capture of Boulogne and the subsequent peace made at Camp in June, 1546 (J. D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors (1952), pp. 409-10).
34. P.R.O. E179/221/210.
35. C.P.R. 1553, p. 363.

official consecration of local influence after 1536 was inclusion in the Commission of the Peace as a justice of the peace. Both Thomas and Piers were justices by about 1540 and it is possible that Roger, one of Thomas's younger sons, was also in the Flintshire commission.³⁶

In 1546 the crown lease of Mostyn which Thomas had inherited from his father expired; the reversion had been granted in 1539 to Roger Collye, groom of the privy chamber to Prince Edward, for 21 years at an annual rent of £7.³⁷ However, William seems to have obtained Collye's interest and in 1557 he surrendered the lease for a new one for 30 years at the same rent and an entry fine of £26. 13s. 4d. Some time between 1552 and 1554 Thomas was sued in the Court of Augmentations by Hugh Puleston over his refusal to pay tithe from Gloddaith, the parsonage and tithes of Eglwys Rhos having been demised to Puleston in 1552.³⁹ In fact, the tithe of grain from Gloddaith, along with the right to maintain a domestic chaplain, had been granted to Thomas for 21 years at an annual rent of 53s. 4d. and an entry fine of a year's rent in 1550.⁴⁰ In 1566 the tithes were leased by the crown to Thomas's daughter Margaret, later the wife of Maurice Kyffin of Maenan; Maurice and Margaret assigned the lease to William Mostyn's son Thomas in 1580 and did the same with a further 21 years lease in 1602.⁴¹ In 1610 the tithes were purchased by Lewis Owen of High Holborn, a prominent London Welshman, and he sold them to Sir Roger Mostyn for £140 in 1623.⁴²

In one respect Thomas does stand out; he was the first of the great Mostyn patrons. No less than seven poets sang to him and there are also several poems to his wife and daughter. He was praised by Gruffudd Hiraethog, Lewis Morgannwg, Simwnt Fychan, Siôn Brwynog, and Lewis ab Edward and mourned by Siôn Brwynog.

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36. Handlist of Flintshire County Records (1955), p. 70; W. J. Smith, ed., Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence, 1553-1700 (1954), p. 1.
37. L. & P. Henry VIII, XIV (ii) (1539), p. 225.
38. C.P.R. 1557-1558, p. 19.
39. Calendar of Augmentations Records, p. 55; the church and tithes had belonged to Aberconway Abbey.
40. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6252; Calendar of Augmentation Records, p. 275. The tithes were intended for the chaplain's maintenance.
41. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6253-4.
42. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6255-6.

William Llŷn, Simwnt Fychan, and Siôn Tudur. Some of these sang to him more than once, making a total of thirteen poems.⁴³ The importance of such poems to the historian lies in the information which they contain about the patron's life and activities and judged from this standpoint the poetry to Thomas could be more informative. What the bards praised, apart from the military virtues, were generosity, conspicuous consumption, and status, but much of this praise was common form and the poems reveal little about Thomas that is not known from other sources. It was during his lifetime that the poets began to refer to the Five Courts, that is, the five Mostyn seats to which Richard ap Hywel was the first heir; the first appearance of the conceit was probably in Gruffudd Hiraethog's awdl foliant in which the poet praised each seat and each strand in Thomas's ancestry in turn, mentioning the arms attributed to each of the courts.⁴⁴ The line 'Wybren wydr a brain Edwin' in the englyn in praise of Mostyn is of particular interest in that it probably refers to the installation by Thomas of a stained-glass heraldic window there.⁴⁵

Simwnt Fychan was the most prolific of the poets who sang to Thomas; his relationship was particularly close and he sang to four successive generations of the family. The poems to Thomas include a good deal of comment on the relationship of poet and patron. Simwnt seems to have associated Thomas particularly with Gloddaith and praised the house, drawing attention, like Lewys Môn, to the whitewashed walls:⁴⁷

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43. See Appendix D for a full list of the poems; the role of the family as patrons and the possible significance of the body of poetry to Thomas is discussed in Chapter X of this study.
44. N.L.W. Mostyn 148, p. 731; the relevant lines are quoted at the end of the introduction to this study, also in R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 82.
45. 'A glass sky and the ravens of Edwin'. These were the arms of Mostyn (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 11a), though the birds were in fact choughs; Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 85-6. It has been suggested that this window was removed by Sir Roger during his improvements to the house in 1631 (R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 82).
46. This relationship is discussed in Chapter X.
47. N.L.W. 16, p. 36: 'Fair rooms, walls, towers, a cellar like that at Basaleg ... a white tower and the custom of the family, the land of Rhos and the board of Richard's heir'.

Siambrau, muriau, tyrau teg,
Seler fel ym Masaleg ...
... Twr gwyn ar arfer ty'r gart,
Tir Rhos a bort aer Rhisiart

Both Simwnt and Gruffudd Hiraethog also composed englynion to Gloddaith itself and its garden, which suggests that it was a favourite residence.⁴⁸ The rest of the poems are typical of their kind, reciting the patron's pedigree and armorial bearings, praising the liberality of Thomas and his wife, occasionally referring to his presence in the Commission of the Peace, and commenting on his general standing in the community.⁴⁹ Two lines from one of Simwnt Fychan's cywyddau moliant may suggest that he was not ambitious for office:⁵⁰

Ni cheisiodd, pen y chwe sir,
Enw o swydd, caiff einioes hir

and his record of public service bears this out. The elegies have nothing to add apart from praise of the deceased and descriptions of the grief of his widow and children.

Jane Griffith bore Thomas nineteen children of whom only two, the first and the last, died in infancy. They comprised twelve sons, William, William, Richard, Hugh, Piers, Robert, Fulk, John, Edward, Roger, Rowland, and William, and seven daughters, Grace, Katherine, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Margaret, Ann, and Jane.⁵¹ Thomas died on 30 August, 1558, aged 68;⁵² his will, made five days earlier, was proved on 26 September, 1559.⁵³ He was to be buried in Whitford church and the incumbents of Whitford and Eglwys Rhos were each left 10s. for prayers for his soul which indicates that he was untroubled by any new religious ideas. Three

48. R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 84.

49. Lewis ap Edward described the arms (R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 82) and Siôn Brwynog and Lewis Morgannwg referred to him as a justice (Rose Marie Kerr, 'Cywyddau Siôn Brwynog' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, (1960), p. 157; N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 338).

50. N.L.W. 16, p. 37: 'He did not seek, head of the six shires, the repute of office, long life to him'.

51. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 185; their dates of birth were: William (6 May - 28 September, 1519); William (1521); Richard (1522); Hugh (1523; d.1550); Piers (1524); Grace (1525); Katherine (1526); Robert (1528); Fulk (1530); Dorothy (1531); John (1532, d.1549); Elizabeth (1533); Edward (1535); Roger (1536); Margaret (1537); Ann (1539); Rowland (1540); William (1543); Jane (4 September = 2 November, 1546).

52. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 95 (inquisition post mortem on Thomas's Caernarvonshire lands).

53. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 96; it is reproduced in Appendix E (2) below.

quarters of his estate was to go to his widow and a quarter to his daughter Margaret as a marriage portion; his illegitimate daughter Katherine was to have £20 for the same purpose as long as Jane should approve the marriage. He also provided for his two youngest sons, Rowland and the younger William, then aged 18 and 15, in his will, which suggests that he had already done something for the others. According to the inquisition post mortem for his Caernarvonshire lands, which is the only one to have survived, Thomas Mostyn died seised of a capital messuage, a windmill, and 102 acres in Gloddaith and four tenements and 20 acres in Rhiwledin and Cyngreawdr of the total annual value of £14;⁵⁴ as usual in such cases, this was a totally unrealistic figure.

Jane Mostyn outlived her husband by fourteen years, dying in 1572 at the age of 69.⁵⁵ She, too, made some provision for Rowland and the younger William, settling lands in Kelston on the former and lands in Gloddaith on the latter.⁵⁶ Like her husband she was renowned for her generosity to the poets and they did not ignore her; Gruffudd Hiraethog asked Dr. Elis Price and his brother Cadwaladr ap Robert of Rhiwlas for gifts on her behalf and her elegy was sung by William Cynwal and William Llŷn.⁵⁷ She was not buried at Whitford but at Eglwys Rhos, which suggests that she spent her widowhood at Gloddaith; this was not the only time it was to serve as a dower house. Five of the daughters were married;⁵⁸ Katherine became the wife of William Glynne of Glynllifon in Caernarvonshire and when she died in 1551 Gruffudd Hiraethog, Siôn Brwynog, Simwnt Fychan, and her husband mourned her death at the age of 25.⁵⁹ Grace also predeceased her mother, in spite of which she was threetimes married;⁶⁰ her first husband was William Glynne of Lleuar, her second Robert Massey, and her third Maredudd Lloyd ap John Owen. Dorothy was the wife of John Griffith of Cefnamwlch in Llŷn; she died

54. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 95.

55. She was born in 1503 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 185) and William Llŷn stated her age in his cywydd marwnad (R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 85).

56. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2536, 2538 (Kelston); 1018 (Gloddaith, 1568); the remainder in each case was to her grandson Thomas.

57. R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 85.

58. The marriages are listed in Mostyn & Glenn, p. 93.

59. R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 85; according to Gruffudd she, too, was buried at Eglwys Rhos (N.L.W. Llanstephan 125, p. 319).

60. William Cynwal mentioned the fact that Grace and Katherine predeceased their mother (N.L.W. Mostyn 145, p. 160).

in 1597 bewailed by Huw Pennant and Siôn Philip.⁶¹ Elizabeth married twice; her first husband was John Wynn ap David Lloyd of Bodanwydog in Iâl and her second was Sir Evan Lloyd of Bodidris, member of parliament for Denbighshire in 1585.⁶² Margaret did not marry until 1575 when she was 38, her husband being Maurice Kyffin of Maenan.⁶³

Richard Mostyn, the second son of Thomas, was a figure of some interest. He settled at Bodysgallen in Creuddyn which he claimed to hold by a crown lease and over which there was some litigation;⁶⁴ he was also involved in litigation with his elder brother William over the lease of the manor of Gogarth.⁶⁵ In 1572 he was sheriff of Caernarvonshire;⁶⁶ he was one of those commissioned to take the county muster in 1570 and he was a justice of the peace by 1574.⁶⁷ But he was best-known as a patron; Gruffudd Hiraethog, Siôn Dafydd and Siôn Rogers sang to him and it was to him that Gruffudd dedicated his book 'Lloegr drigiant ddifyrrwch Brytanaidd Gymro' which was written:

i goffáu ac i ddwyn ar gof i'r neb o genedl Gymry a fo allan o'i
wlad iaith ei gnawdol fam ei hunan a'i naturiol ddaearen o enedigaeth.

while Richard was out of Wales.⁶⁸ Gruffudd's complaints in this dedication show that even then the expatriate Welshman was often anxious to forget his native

61. R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 85.

62. Bywgraffiadur, p. 537.

63. The marriage settlement is U.C.N.W. Maenan 3; her brothers Richard and Rowland (described here as of Bangor) were among the trustees.

64. Calendar of Augmentations Records, p. 64.

65. This case is discussed in Chapter VIII.

66. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 248.

67. R. Flenley, ed., A Calendar of the Register of the Queen's Majesty's Council in the Dominion and Principality of Wales (1916), p. 69; E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire Squires, 1558-1625' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1936), p. 194, citing B. M. Egerton 2345.

68. 'to remind and bring to the memory of any of the Welsh nation who should go out of his country the language of his own mother who bore him and of his natural place of birth'. The book is discussed by D. J. Bowen, Gruffudd Hiraethog a'i Oes (1958), pp. 32-8; for its contents R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 103. Richard's commonplace book, containing poetry, proverbs and similar material, is N.L.W. Mostyn 129; it is discussed by R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 102.

tongue and culture when he went to London.⁶⁹ Richard married Jane, daughter of Thomas Salusbury of Leadbrook and widow of John Davies of Gwysaney;⁷⁰ by her he had one daughter, Margaret, who married Hugh Wynn of Berth-ddu, and Bodysgallen remained in that family until the heiress married Sir Roger Mostyn, the fifth baronet, in 1766.⁷¹

Less is known of the other sons. Piers was constable of Ruthin and in 1569 Fulk Mostyn, described as 'Queen's servant' was granted the office of serjeant-at-arms previously held by Richard Ranshawe;⁷² his tenure of this office is mentioned by William Cynwal in his elegy on his mother.⁷³ The investigation of the younger sons is complicated by the fact that Thomas and his brother Piers Mostyn of Talacre had several sons with the same Christian names.⁷⁴ A Robert Mostyn went to Ireland and in 1571 Sir Edward Fitton, the Lord President of Connaught, reported to the Lord Deputy that Robert Mostyn was to have the town of Aghren.⁷⁵ The following year one of Fitton's despatches included the information that Mr. Mostyn's town called the Toeghe had been burned by rebels and his castle taken;⁷⁶ by 1573 he was under-constable of Athlone.⁷⁷ The state

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69. This is also discussed by W. Ogwen Williams, 'The survival of the Welsh language after the union of England and Wales: the first phase, 1536-1642' in W.H.R. II, i (1964), pp. 80-1.
70. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 198; according to Bywgraffiadur, p. 151, Richard was Jane's first husband.
71. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 203.
72. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 185; C.P.R., 1569-1572, p. 20.
73. N.L.W. Mostyn 145, p. 160.
74. Piers Mostyn's sons were Piers, William, John, Robert, Hugh, Richard, and Henry (Mostyn & Glenn, p. 193).
75. Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1509-1573, p. 426.
76. Ibid., p. 477.
77. Ibid., p. 533. It cannot be said with absolute certainty that this Robert Mostyn was of Mostyn rather than of Talacre, but Robert of Talacre married Katherine, daughter of Lewis ap Gruffydd ab Ieuan Fychan (Mostyn & Glenn, p. 193), while the wife of the one who served in Ireland was called Cecilia; she wrote to her husband on 5 December, 1573, to warn him of a threatened attack on Athlone (Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1509-1573, p. 533). However, Robert of Talacre was Katherine's second husband; her first, Thomas Salusbury, did not die until 1587 (I am indebted to Miss Erid Roberts for this information) so Cecilia could have been his first wife, though the sons of Robert Mostyn were later active in Ireland (see note 84 below), which suggests that he might have settled there. Robert Mostyn of Talacre was one of the trustees under the marriage settlement of Thomas Mostyn and his sister Katherine Griffith in 1582 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 102).

papers relating to Ireland also include the examination of Edward Mostyn in connection with the commands issued by the earl of Clanricard about his sons' rebellion in 1572;⁷⁸ Edward was in the Commission of the Peace for Flintshire round about this time.⁷⁹ A Rowland Mostyn, described as of Croeseigion in Denbighshire, leased a croft in Cyngreawdr in Creuddyn from Thomas, William's son, in 1594 for a term of 40 years at an annual rent of fourpence;⁸⁰ he intended to build a house on it and appears to have done so since Sir William Russell, the retiring Lord Deputy, stayed with him on his return from Ireland in 1597.⁸¹ Roger was probably the Roger Mostyn of Beaumaris who was sheriff of Anglesey in 1589-90;⁸² he was still alive and holding lands in Whitford of his nephew in 1607.⁸³ The Piers Mostyn who held much of Trecastell at the end of the sixteenth century was probably Thomas's son while the fact that there were two sons called William as well as one of the Talacre family makes a

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78. Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1509-1573, p. 483; the revolt is described briefly by E. Curtis, A History of Ireland (1961), pp. 193-6. This Edward was certainly of Mostyn since Piers of Talacre had no son of that name.
79. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, p. 72.
80. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1097 (i); in U.C.N.W. Maenan 3 (1575) he was described as of Bangor. He died in 1606 (T. A. Glenn, 'The Bodrhyddan roll' in Arch. Camb., 1925, p. 221).
81. Cal. Carew MSS., 1589-1600, p. 260; he had stayed at Gloddaith on his way to Ireland (*ibid.*, p. 221).
82. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 236; E. Breese, Kalendars of Gwynedd (1873), p. 37.
83. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 25a.

complicated situation downright confused.⁸⁴ Many of these sons must have married and had children and there are many Mostyns in the next generation who cannot be fitted into the picture; an Andrew Mostyn, for example, lived near Gloddaith and seems to have supervised the Creuddyn estate on behalf of Sir Thomas.⁸⁵ But it was the main line of Mostyn and Talacre which prospered and

84. A Captain William Mostyn appears frequently in Cal. S.P. Ireland, serving in that theatre in the 1580s and 1590s; occasionally he is described as William Mostyn the younger, which epithet was usually applied to William of Talacre, Basingwerk and Maes-glas (e.g. Clwyd R.O. D/MT/685). William Mostyn the younger was also sheriff of Flintshire in 1563-4 and 1575-6 (R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 99; E. Gwynne Jones, ed., Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales (1939), p. 190). He was certainly a professional soldier and the poet Robert ap Ifan referred to his service in Ireland (R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 101). In 1591 a Captain William Mostyn commanded the Leicestershire men levied for service in France (A.P.C. XXI, 1591, pp. 233, 243, 289); in the same year an officer of the same name was at the siege of Rouen (A.P.C. XXII 1591-1592, p. 100), and in 1592 he led some of the London and Middlesex levies to Normandy to aid Henri IV of France (A.P.C. XXIII, 1592, p. 66). The sources show that there were in fact two Captains William Mostyn who both served in Ireland; in 1595 William Mostyn petitioned for the payment of money due to him, stating that he had served for 16 years (Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1592-1596, p. 302). This may be the William Mostyn who seems to have been in financial straits; in 1597 the Council wrote to the Lord President and the Council in the Marches to investigate whether he should have a licence to seek the aid of his kinsmen and friends in North Wales in view of his losses (A.P.C. XXVII, 1597, pp. 144-5) and in 1599 he was a prisoner in the Gatehouse at Westminster from where he asked for a debt due to him to be paid so that he could pay his own (A.P.C. XXIX, 1598-1599, p. 653). A Captain William Mostyn was dead by 1599 (Cal. Carew MSS., 1589-1600, p. 331) but William Mostyn of Basingwerk was still alive in 1603 (Clwyd R.O. D/MT/58). In 1598 a William Mostyn submitted a plan to Cecil to deal with Tyrone and restore order in Ulster in which he claimed 27 years service in Ireland (Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1598-1599, pp. 383-6). A Captain Hugh Mostyn also served in Ireland at this time and he is generally assumed to have been the brother of William of Basingwerk; however, both Hugh and one of the two Williams are described in Irish sources as the sons of Robert (e.g. J. O'Donovan, ed., Annals of the Four Masters (1851-6), V, p. 1867, VI, p. 2291). This suggests that they were the sons of Robert Mostyn who was active in Ireland in the 1570s (note 77 above) and therefore probably the grandsons of Thomas. Hugh Mostyn later went over to the Spanish side and after the fall of Kinsale in 1602 he went to Spain with Hugh O'Donnell (Lughaidh O'Clery, ed. Denis Murphy, The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell (1895), p. 321, in which he is described as son of an English father and Irish mother; John J. Silke, Kinsale: the Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the end of the Elizabethan Wars (New York, 1970), p. 55). He subsequently served in Flanders (Brendan Jennings, ed., Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582-1700, (1964), p. 5); a Richard Mostyn was serving in the same regiment in 1608 (*ibid.*, d. 326). The Thomas Mostyn who was sheriff of Fermanagh in 1591 is discussed in Chapter V below. In 1619 a Piers Mostyn, described as resident in Connaught, held 300 acres called Moycrane in the precinct of Clanawly in Fermanagh (Cal. Carew MSS., 1604-1624, p. 400). For details of the Irish campaigns see Cyril Falls, Elizabeth's Irish Wars (1950) and R. Bagwell, Ireland under the Tudors, II (1885), III (1890), (reprinted 1963).
85. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6477; Sir Thomas left him 40s. in his will (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3734).

it was not until the next century that there was an active attempt to provide for younger sons.

William Mostyn was already playing an active part in affairs during his father's lifetime. A William Mostyn was sheriff of Denbighshire in 1551-2;⁸⁶ it has been suggested that this was his cousin William Mostyn of Basingwerk but in one of his cywyddau marwnad to William Mostyn of Mostyn Siôn Tudur referred to his five shrievalties.⁸⁷ He was sheriff of Flintshire in 1560-1, 1565-6, and 1570-1 and of Caernarvonshire in 1567-8 making, with the addition of the Denbighshire term, a total of five.⁸⁸ According to the family history he began his adult life as a soldier and served under the earl of Pembroke during Wyatt's rebellion early in 1554;⁸⁹ this is confirmed by Sir John Wynn of Gwydir whose uncle Gruffydd Wynn was also in Pembroke's service at that time and who mentioned the presence of both Gruffydd and William at the suppression of the revolt.⁹⁰ The service of the earl of Pembroke was one of the best avenues of advancement open to ambitious young Welshmen and his connection with the earl may explain the pardon granted to William in December, 1553.⁹¹ Pembroke had declared for Lady Jane Grey on the death of Edward VI and a marriage was arranged between his son Henry and her sister Katherine, but he transferred his support to Mary Tudor after the fall of Northumberland and the grant of pardons to his followers may have been a consequence of this.⁹²

86. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 251; if this was William of Mostyn he must have been resident at Pengwern during his year of office since a sheriff had to reside in his county (T. G. Barnes, Somerset, 1625-1640 (1961), p. 132).

87. He was described as of Maes-glas by J. Y. W. Lloyd, 'The sheriffs of Denbighshire' in Arch. Camb., 1869, p. 11; U.C.N.W. Bangor 11678, p. 19:
Bod trwy Dduw bywyd hardd oedd
Siryf mewn pump o siroedd
('That it was, through God, a fine life, sheriff in five counties').

88. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, pp. 254, 248.

89. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 93.

90. J. Ballinger, ed., The History of the Gwydir Family (1927), p. 69. For a brief account of the rebellion see S. T. Bindoff, Tudor England (1950), p. 173. His military prowess was also mentioned by William Llŷn (Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn, p. 234):

Milwr waed milwyr ydoedd

Mal athro llu ymhlith ieirll oedd

('He was a soldier of the blood of soldiers, he was like a master of the host among earls').

91. C.P.R., 1553-1554, p. 418.

92. D.N.B. XXVI, p. 221.

William sat in parliament for the first time while his father was still alive, as member for Flintshire in the parliament which assembled in October, 1553.⁹³ This was the parliament which did away with the religious changes of the reign of Edward VI;⁹⁴ he also sat for the county in the following one which met on 12 November, 1554, and which made its submission to Rome and revived the heresy laws.⁹⁵ This does suggest that the Mostyns, like so many other families, moved with the religious changes of the times; they certainly conformed after the accession of Elizabeth I and, unlike their Talacre kinsmen, there seem to have been no recusants in their ranks.⁹⁶ William's membership of these two parliaments may have stemmed from his relationship with Pembroke. He represented the county for a third time in the parliament of 1572 and remained a member until his death in 1576.⁹⁷ He does not seem to have played much part in this parliament; he did not, for example, sit on any committees.⁹⁸ But membership did reflect the status which he and his family enjoyed in the county and to be knight of the shire was the topmost rung in the cursus honorum of the county gentry.⁹⁹

William held various offices in Flintshire besides the shrievalty. In 1569 he was one of those made responsible by the Council in the Marches for the safe custody of the county armour and the following year he was one of the commissioners appointed to take the muster.¹⁰⁰ In a contemporary list of those responsible for furnishing horsemen for the militia he was liable to provide two light

93. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. 388.

94. J. D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors (1952), p. 544.

95. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. 392; J. D. Mackie, Op. cit., pp. 548-9.

96. Nevertheless, a list of supposed (or hoped for) adherents of Mary, Queen of Scots, drawn up in 1574 included 'William Mostone' as well as 'Piers Monstone' and all his brethren' from Flintshire (J. B. Wainwright, 'Two lists of supposed adherents of Mary, queen of Scots' in Catholic Record Society, XIII, Miscellanea VIII (1913), p. 110). The family's attitude is discussed in Chapter VII of this study.

97. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. 412; his membership is further considered in Chapter VII.

98. A. H. Dodd, 'Wales's parliamentary apprenticeship, 1536-1625' in Trans. Cymm., 1942, p. 17, n. 4.

99. J. E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (1949), p. 23.

100. Flenley, Register, pp. 60, 69. He was unable to appear before the Council a few months later to certify that the muster had been taken because of illness (*ibid.*, pp. 72-3).

horsemen as was Sir Thomas Hammer;¹⁰¹ this indicates that the Mostyns and the Hammers were now recognised as two of the leading families in the county. The surviving register of the Council shows that he was entrusted with the execution of that body's commands on a variety of matters; in 1574, for example, he was among the commissioners appointed to investigate the misapplication of food supplies intended for the Earl of Essex in the north of Ireland and in the same year he and another William Mostyn, probably his cousin, were in a commission to take recognisances from tanners.¹⁰² In 1565 he and Piers had been among the members of a commission for Flintshire to put down pirates.¹⁰³ But these duties were the small change of public life; what was really important was inclusion in the Commission of the Peace. William did not become a justice before or immediately after his father's death; his name was not included in the commissions of 1558, 1562, or 1563-4.¹⁰⁴ He appeared for the first time in the commission issued about 1573 along with his brother Edward and William Mostyn of Basingwerk as well as Piers.¹⁰⁵

William was involved in a certain amount of litigation. Pride of place should be given to the Star Chamber suit brought by him and the bishop of St. Asaph in 1566 against Hugh Whitford, the rector of Whitford and the third successive generation of the same family to hold the living.¹⁰⁶ The action was the result of Whitford's unsatisfactory behaviour and neglect of his duties, for which he was eventually deprived of his benefice; the standard of the parochial clergy was low at this time and Whitford was certainly not the only one of his kind.¹⁰⁷ Whitford claimed that William Mostyn and the bishop had conspired against him and that the parishioners who complained about him were all under

101. Ibid., p. 75.

102. Ibid., pp. 109, 124-7.

103. A.P.C. VII, 1558-1570, p. 286.

104. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, p. 71.

105. Ibid., p. 72.

106. P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W31/20; W21/38; these are both part of the same case, which, with the other actions in which William was involved, is discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII.

107. G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales, pp. 221-5, quotes some of the more blatant examples.

William's influence, but it was natural that the bishop should enlist the aid of the leading layman in the parish when proceeding against an unsatisfactory incumbent. Nor was William the loser; after Whitford's deprivation the sinecure rectory was granted to Philip Sidney, son of Sir Henry Sidney, the president of the Council in the Marches, then a boy of sixteen but later one of the great Elizabethan heroes.¹⁰⁸ At Michaelmas, 1570, William Mostyn paid Sir Henry £100 for the farm of the parsonage of Whitford.¹⁰⁹ Much church property was attractive to laymen, not only land but also tithes, sinecure rectories, and even prebends, and the Mostyn family took an almost proprietorial interest in the Whitford tithes in the future.¹¹⁰ There is not enough evidence to indicate whether the possibility of obtaining the tithes was an added incentive to William to aid the bishop but Whitford did suggest that he was interested in them.

The Whitford affair also lay behind a case brought against William in Chancery in 1564 by Robert Jones, one of the queen's grooms, over a lease of the rectory to him in 1559 which William had somehow acquired.¹¹¹ The other important action to which William was a party was also to do with ecclesiastical property, in this case the bishop of Bangor's manor of Gogarth. The story of the Gogarth lease is a complicated one which suggests that the Mostyn family were guilty of a certain degree of sharp practice;¹¹² in 1562 the manor was leased by bishop Meyrick to William's brother Richard at an annual rent of £16 but this lease was found to be invalid and a further one for three lives at the same rent was granted two years later. In 1573 William brought an action against Richard before the Council of the Marches at Worcester, claiming that he was entitled to half the manor; the court ordered that it was to be divided into two equal parts and lots cast for them by the brothers.¹¹³ Nevertheless, the lease somehow

108. P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W31/20.

109. H.M.C. Reports LXXVII, De Lisle I (1925), p. 358.

110. G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

111. P.R.O. C3/102/19.

112. The various leases are recited in N.L.W., Church in Wales Records (Bangor) B/MISC.VOLS./31 which is a volume of copies of leases; the issue is discussed in Chapter VIII.

113. N.L.W. Thorne 259.

came into William's possession.¹¹⁴ He also obtained another of his brother's leases; Richard held Bodysgallen and Faerdref on a crown lease but when he sought its renewal it transpired that the reversion had been granted to one Lewis Lloyd and in 1557 the crown leased the reversion of Lloyd's lease to William for a term of 20 years,¹¹⁵ These transactions suggest that relations between William and Richard were at least strained.

Surviving deeds indicate that William did not add very much to the estate. Most of his acquisitions were in Flintshire, where he spent more than £73 on lands in Whitford Garn, Whitford Llan, and Mostyn; in 1575, for example, he paid £9 for four closes in Whitford Llan.¹¹⁶ There were also some purchases in Creuddyn and Anglesey.¹¹⁷ Money was now beginning to be invested in land and the fact that William was spending, albeit on a small scale, does suggest that some surplus cash was available, possibly as a result of income from rents which were frequently invested in this way at this time.¹¹⁸ He obtained a fresh lease of Mostyn itself from the crown in 1557 when he surrendered the one originally granted to Roger Colley in 1546; the new one was for a term of 30 years at an annual rent of £7 and an entry fine of £26. 13s. 4d.¹¹⁹

The episode for which William Mostyn is best known is the part he played in connection with the second Caerwys eisteddfod held either in 1567 or 1568. The royal commission for the eisteddfod was printed by Gwenogvryn Evans from a copy of the original at Mostyn which for a long time subsequently could not be traced but which has recently again come to light.¹²⁰ It was issued on 23 October, 1567, to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Sir Rhys Griffith of Penrhyn, Dr. Ellis Price, William Mostyn, Piers Mostyn, and a number of the other leading gentlemen of North

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14. N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS./31, f. 10.
 15. Calendar of Augmentations Records, p. 64; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 956.
 16. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3112.
 17. N.L.W. Thorne 50, 51, 56, 148; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 764.
 18. M. E. Finch, The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, pp. 48, 50, 60, 61. Some money had also come from marriage portions; Ursula Goodman, the first wife of William's eldest son Thomas, brought with her a portion of 400 marks and lands of the annual value of £10 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 93).
 119. C.P.R., 1557-1558, p. 19.
 120. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language (1898-1910), I (i), p. 291; the commission is discussed in Chapter X.

Wales. This eisteddfod was not a competitive meeting as is its modern counterpart; it was a public examination of the skills of professional poets at which degrees were awarded in accordance with the rules of their craft and at which licences to practise were issued and in this it was the sequel to the earlier eisteddfod held at Caerwys in 1523. There is some dispute about its date; according to the commission it was to be held on 14 June, 1568, but there is a good deal of evidence to indicate that it was, in fact, held on 26 May, 1567.¹²¹ William's grandfather Richard ap Hywel had played an important part 1523 and according to the proclamation of the second meeting:

... william mostyn esq. and his auncestors have had the gyfte and bestowing of the sylver harpe appertayning to the Cheff of that facultie ...

The miniature silver harp which was awarded is still at Mostyn today.

Whatever the date of the second Caerwys eisteddfod, there is no doubt that William Mostyn played a key part and that the family was recognised as having some sort of oversight of the bardic order in North Wales. William was present at the eisteddfod and was one of the signatories of the licence granted to Simwnt Fychan as a pencerdd or master craftsman; like his uncle Piers he was himself something of a poet and there has survived a series of englynion composed by him, Sir Rhys Griffith and Simon Thelwall concerning the award of a degree in music to a crowder called Owain whose skill left something to be desired:¹²²

I Owain, [^]wr main, y mynnen' - roi gradd,
A'i grwth fel ystyllen
Ni l[^]yn draw un gerdd lawen
Ar ei ffidl mwy na hidl hen

William was also responsible for obtaining the family's only piece of ecclesiastical patronage; this was the living of Christleton, just outside Chester.

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121. The whole background to the Caerwys eisteddfodau is very clearly described by Gwyn Thomas, Eisteddfodau Caerwys (1968); for a more detailed discussion of the second eisteddfod and the full argument for 1567 see Enid Roberts, 'Eisteddfod Caerwys, 1567' in Trans. Denbs. Hist. Soc., 16 (1967), pp. 23-61. The connection of the Mostyns with the Caerwys eisteddfodau is discussed in Chapter X of this study.
122. The englynion are quoted in full in R. Alun Charles, 'Noddwyr y beirdd yn sir y Fflint' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1967), pp. 26-8; 'To Owain, a meagre man, they want to give a degree, and his crwth like a plank; he makes no merrier a song on his fiddle than on an old sieve'.

Before the dissolution it had belonged to the abbey of St. Werburgh in the city; it then came into the hands of the Cotton family.¹²³ In 1565 George Cotton of Werblington in Hampshire conveyed the advowson to William Mostyn for 100 marks and in 1570 William and his son Thomas leased the rectory to Robert Ireland, vicar of Denbigh and prebendary of Meliden, for 21 years at an annual rent of 13s. 4d.¹²⁴ The advowson was sold in the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ The family was obviously prospering because it was William who began adding to Mostyn itself. According to Pennant the nucleus of the house was a square tower; William intended to build a new house, planned round a quadrangle and based on the rebuilt old house, but only one side, that which included the gateway known as Y Porth Mawr, was completed.¹²⁶ In his anxiety to rebuild he was typical of his time when so many Welsh landowners began to improve their homes.¹²⁷ This was the age of what has been called the Great Rebuilding, a process of domestic reorganisation which reflected contemporary social change.¹²⁸ Not only the gentry but also prosperous farmers and yeomen were involved and the result could be the complete rebuilding of an old house or a reconstruction so drastic as to create what was, to all intents and purposes, a new one.¹²⁹ In England the gentry were rebuilding from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; as with most new ideas reaching the highland zone, such a development would have come to Wales a little later. There were several reasons for it; a more law-abiding society meant that fortifications were no longer necessary and there could therefore be more emphasis on comfort. Gloddaith had been rebuilt at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which may explain Thomas Mostyn's preference for it.¹³⁰ There was also an increasing demand for privacy; the public life led by every gentleman in his hall

123. G. Ormerod, The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester (2nd ed., 1882), II, p. 780.

124. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4319, 4322.

125. Ormerod, Op. cit., p. 780.

126. T. Pennant, The History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell (1796), p. 72.

127. G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales, pp. 18-21.

128. W. G. Hoskins, 'The rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640' in id., Provincial England (1965), pp. 131-48.

129. Ibid., p. 137.

130. The rebuilding of Gloddaith is discussed in Chapter III above.

was no longer entirely satisfactory and social attitudes were becoming increasingly individualistic. The result was a need for more private rooms and if a medieval house could not be adapted it had to be extended or rebuilt. These developments were helped by the increased use of coal for domestic heating and by the availability of cheap glass which made more windows possible.¹³¹ The Mostyns had access to their own coal supplies and Gruffudd Hiraethog's 'wybren wydr' may have been a heraldic window. Like so many of his contemporaries William was probably affected by these changes and as one of the social leaders of his county he needed a house to fit the part.¹³² It would be valuable to know where the money came from; it may be that the small amount of investment in land was the result of expenditure on the house. The work did not go without comment from the poets who visited Mostyn so regularly; in his cywydd marwnad to William Simwnt Fychan remarked on it:¹³³

Adeiladaeth bennaeth byd,
 A wnai William f'anwlyd.
 Dechreuodd, growndwalodd dŷ,
 Dibrin dechreuad obry;
 Iesu Fab, na chawsai fo
 Einioes i orffen yno.
 Dafydd, proffwyd blodeufawr,
 Draw a fu'n dechrau'r dref fawr,
 A Selyf mewn gras eilwaith,
 A wnaî gynt orffen y gwaith;
 Ym Mostyn y mae un wedd
 Ail i Selyf lyseuwledd:
 Aer William mewn aur eiliad
 A orffen fry dŷ ei dad.

131. W. G. Hoskins, Op. cit., pp. 145-6.

132. Unfortunately there is no detailed architectural study of Mostyn; the house is discussed briefly by Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 182-5. For a general discussion of the subject, see P. Smith, 'Rural housing in Wales' in J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV (1967), pp. 767-813, also M. W. Barley, 'Rural housing in England' in *ibid.*, especially pp. 710-24.

133. N.L.W. Mostyn 145, pp. 427-8, quoted in R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 86: 'The chief construction of the world, which my dear William was making. He began, he laid the foundations of the house, an abundant beginning here below. Jesus, son, would that he had had life to finish there. David, the great prophet, started a great house and Solomon, again in grace, then finished the work. In Mostyn there is likewise a court builder second to Solomon: William's heir in a golden shelter who will finish his father's house'.

Six poems, all of them marwnadau, were addressed to William; they comprise an awdl by William Cynwal, two cywyddau by Siôn Tudur and cywyddau by Lewis ap Hywel, William Llŷn, and Simwnt Fychan.¹³⁴ Most of them refer to the Five Courts, to the status of the deceased and to the respect in which he was held. Apart from Simwnt Fychan's comments on the rebuilding of Mostyn the poems contain little personal information, though Simwnt also referred to William and his father Thomas having been buried at Whitford at night.¹³⁵ In one of his poems Siôn Tudur described the grief of William's friends at his death;¹³⁶ they included Roger Puleston of Eural and Roger Brereton of Halghton who was one of the witnesses to his will and whose friendship with him was compared to that of Damon and Pytheas. Another friend was George Ravenscroft of Bretton who was related through his marriage to Elen, one of the daughters of Richard ap Hywel; Siôn also named Mr. Parry, probably Henry Parry or Henry ap Harri of Maes-glas, whose daughter Ann married William Mostyn of Talacre, and Mr. Griffith, probably William Griffith of Pant-y-llongdy who, like William, was a grandson of Richard ap Hywel, his father having married Richard's daughter Dows.

William's first wife, whom he married in 1541, was Margaret, daughter of Robert ap Hywel of Whittington; through her mother, an Edwards of Plas Newydd in Chirkland, she was descended from Iorwerth, a younger brother of Ieuan Fychan.¹³⁷ By her he had all his children. There were three sons, Thomas, John who, according to the family history, was a soldier, and Henry who took orders, and two daughters, Katherine who married twice, her first husband being Edward Dymock of Penley in Maelor Saesneg and her second R. Leighton, and Grace who married Robert Griffith of Porthamel in Anglesey in 1591.¹³⁸ A John Mostyn was

134. For details of the poems to various members of the Mostyn family see Appendix D to this study.

135. N.L.W. Mostyn 145, p. 426. A funeral procession by torchlight added much to the solemnity of the occasion and the custom of night burial was fairly common among the aristocracy and gentry in the following century. It is discussed by Leonard Owen, 'A seventeenth-century commonplace book' in Trans. Cymm., 1962, pp. 28-30.

136. U.C.N.W. Bangor 11678, p. 19.

137. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 96.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 95. According to Powys Fadog, IV, p. 151, Katherine had a third husband, Henry Perry. The marriage settlement of Grace and Robert Griffith is U.C.N.W. Plas Newydd V, 1427.

muster-master of Flintshire in 1595 but Piers Mostyn of Talacre also had a son of the same name.¹³⁹ There were likewise two Henry Mostyns and, to make matters more complicated, they both went into the church. Henry Mostyn of Talacre had the more distinguished career;¹⁴⁰ he matriculated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he was later a fellow, in 1567, became a doctor of laws in 1589, held various livings, including that of Whitford, was chancellor of the diocese of Bangor and ended his days as a canon of Bangor, dying in 1616. Henry Mostyn of Mostyn matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, about 1566; he graduated B.A. in 1574 and proceeded to M.A. in 1577 and he may have been the Henry Mostyn who was vicar of Rhuddlan from 1572 to 1597.¹⁴¹

William's first wife was dead by 1556. In that year he married again, his second wife being Margaret, daughter of Sir William Brereton, formerly chief justice of Ireland, and widow of William Goodman who was mayor of Chester in 1550.¹⁴² At the same time William's heir Thomas married Margaret's daughter Ursula Goodman. Under the terms of the settlement William was to convey lands of the annual value of £36 to trustees to the use of Margaret for life; half of them would then go to Ursula for her life and then to the use of William and his heirs male, in default of which they would go down the line of brothers, all of whom were named.¹⁴³ Lands worth £20 were also to be conveyed to the use of the elder Thomas during his lifetime, then to Ursula for her lifetime and then to devolve as before in default of heirs. Ursula's portion was 400 marks and lands of the annual value of £10. The settlement was made on 4 October and on 12 November, at his son's request, Thomas Mostyn conveyed the manor of Tregarnedd and

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139. A.P.C. XXV, 1595-1596, p. 76. John Mostyn of Mostyn was holding lands in Cilcain of his brother in 1607 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 26a). In 1581 messuages in Llangoed, Anglesey, were conveyed to John Mostyn, gentleman (N.L.W. Nanhoron 29); in the same year a John Mostyn was paying an annual rent of £4 for land in Cororion, Caerns. (U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 1618). In 1583 he was described as of Llystynhunydd (N.L.W. Nanhoron 17).
140. For details of the career of Dr. Henry Mostyn of Talacre see Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, I, iii, p. 221; D. R. Thomas, History of the Diocese of St. Asaph, (1908-13), II, p. 208 and A. Ivor Price, The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century (1923), pp. 28, 31. He was incumbent of Aber, not Aberdaron as Venn says, in 1592.
141. Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, II, p. 1041; this is not entirely correct as it was his namesake who held Whitford and Ysceifiog; D.R. Thomas, Op. cit., p. 417.
142. Ormerod, Op. cit., III, p. 89. William Goodman's will (1554) is U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 8828.
143. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 93; if Thomas died before the marriage was consummated, Ursula would marry John. - 171 -

property in Mostyn, Whitford Garn, Brynford, Tre'r Llan, and Rhiwledin to feoffees to his use for life with remainder to Ursula and then to William and his heirs and brothers.¹⁴⁴ Ursula's jointure was settled on 26 June, 1563, when Plas Uchaf in Mostyn and lands in Mostyn, Whitford Garn, Trefednywain, Tre'r Abad, and Mertyn were conveyed to feoffees.¹⁴⁵ William had no children by Margaret; she outlived him, dying in 1594, and her elegy was sung by Simwnt Fychan and Siôn Tudur. In her will, made on 5 October, 1592, she left 20s. for the repair of Whitford church and the same sum to the poor of the parish.¹⁴⁶ Her son-in-law Thomas Mostyn was to have a piece of gold called a double ducat and the silver basin and ewer left to him was to go eventually to his son Roger as was the rest of the silver plate which was to continue in future as family heirlooms. Roger was also to have her leasehold land in Creuddyn, her grand-daughter Margaret Griffith was left six oxen and six cows and her other grand-daughter Katherine Hanmer was left six oxen, six cows, and six heifers. The rest of her goods, apart from some other small bequests, were left to her grandsons Thomas and Roger who were to be her executors.

A further entail was created in 1569; on 22 September the manor and capital messuage of Mostyn were conveyed to feoffees to the use of William and Margaret for life, then to Thomas, then to Thomas's eldest son William and his heirs, and failing them to William's brothers Roger and Thomas and their heirs in their turn.¹⁴⁷ Four days later the rest of the estate was conveyed to the same feoffees pursuant to articles of agreement contained in indentures of 22 August, 1569, which are not among the family papers;¹⁴⁸ thus the entail was renewed for another generation. William was a party to various other transactions, bonds relating to which have survived; in 1558, for example, three gentlemen of

144. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 93A.

145. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3133.

146. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 107; the will is reproduced in Appendix E (4).

147. Clwyd R.O., D/M/573; I am grateful to the Rt. Hon. Lord Mostyn, M.C., for allowing me access to this collection.

148. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 98.

Whitford bound themselves to him in £2,000 that they would indemnify him touching the sum of £1,000 for the payment of which he stood bound to Katherine Dutton, widow.¹⁴⁹

William Mostyn died in September, 1576, at the age of 55. His will, made on 20 February, 1567, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 17 November, 1576.¹⁵⁰ If his father's will had reflected the old faith, his certainly did not; he bequeathed his soul into God's hands and his body to be buried where it should please God to assign. To his unmarried daughter Grace he left 300 marks 'towards the preferment of her marriage' to be paid by her brother Thomas out of the revenues of Pengwern, Nantbychan, and Tregwehelyth on condition that she took his advice along with that of her uncle Thomas Powell, Henry Pennant and Oliver Jones. In 1581 Grace bound herself to Thomas in £600 that she would, with such husbands as she should marry, prosecute all actions and suits that Thomas should advise for the recovery of whatever share she should have by law of her father's goods and chattels.¹⁵¹ To his son John, William left an annuity of 10 marks to be paid by Thomas out of the issues of Trecastell, John having the right to distrain for it if necessary; a similar bequest was made to Henry with the proviso that it would cease in the event of his obtaining spiritual preferment of the annual value of £40 or more. Annuities of £2 out of the issues of the Caernarvonshire lands were left to his brothers Piers, Edward, Roger, Rowland, and William; these were to take effect on the death of their mother Jane Mostyn. To his wife Margaret he left Mostyn Hall and its demesnes in Whitford Garn for her life (the will was made before the entail was renewed); to Thomas he left his best gold ring, his best gold chain, and two of his best geldings. The remainder of his goods were left to his wife who was his sole executrix; the witnesses included Thomas, Roger Brereton, Edward Griffith, Oliver Jones, and William Mostyn the younger. The inquisition post mortem for

149. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 94.

150. Clwyd R.O., D/M/3724/; the will is reproduced in Appendix E (3).

151. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 101.

the Flintshire lands was taken at Flint on 9 September, 1577;¹⁵² this found that Margaret's jointure lands amounted to 620 acres worth £10 annually, while the main body of the estate was 1,240 acres and another 250 acres worth £24 altogether.

One of the account books among the family papers includes an inventory of livestock made on 12 September, 1576, and signed on each page by Thomas Mostyn;¹⁵³ this was presumably prepared for probate, which suggests that William was dead by this date, a suggestion reinforced by the fact that a rental of the whole estate was drawn up the following day.¹⁵⁴ This rental furnishes the first accurate figures for the value of the estate; the Mostyn demesne was not included but the total rent-roll, including rents from lands at Gogarth leased from the bishop of Bangor, amounted to £288. 5s. 11d.¹⁵⁵ It is difficult to find figures for comparison; in the mid-sixteenth century the Penrhyn estate was estimated as being worth about £400 a year and Gwydir had a rent-roll of about £150 round about this time.¹⁵⁶ This suggests that a rent-roll of nearly £300 in 1576, before rents really began to move upwards, puts Mostyn fairly high among North Wales estates. It was in the next generation that Mostyn really emerged as a major power but under William the shape of things to come was already visible.

152. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 99; the shortcomings of inquisitions post mortem as a source are discussed by H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540-1640, pp. 22-4. The document names the Flintshire tenants.

153. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 2a, 3a; this inventory is examined Chapter VI of this study in which the management of the estate is discussed.

154. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 87b-91a.

155. The Mostyn demesne formed Margaret's dower, which may explain its exclusion.

156. T. Jones Pierce, 'Landlords in Wales: the nobility and gentry' in Agrarian History, IV, pp. 374, 376.

CHAPTER FIVE

SIR THOMAS AND SIR ROGER MOSTYN, 1576-1642

William Mostyn was succeeded on his death in 1576 by his eldest son Thomas who must at that time have been about 34.¹ The family history suggests that he was living at Pengwern at the time of his father's death and also that he had been a soldier but there is nothing to corroborate this.² It is, however, perfectly possible that Pengwern became his home on his marriage; it had long ceased to be one of the regular residences of the head of the family.³ Thomas was altogether a more substantial figure than his father or grandfather; he cut a larger figure in public life, he was richer, and he was the first of the family to be knighted. In many ways he was a typical member of the Elizabethan gentry, although he never forgot his origins. He only sat in one parliament, succeeding his father as member for Flintshire in 1577 and remaining there until the dissolution of 1583, but he is not recorded as having played much part in its activities.⁴ After this he seems to have concentrated on local affairs; a term as knight of the shire had, so to speak, established his credibility and he was subsequently to hold every local office open to him. He was sheriff of Anglesey twice, in 1574-5 and 1587-8;⁵ the fact that the former term was during his father's lifetime suggests that he was then living at Tregarnedd or Trecastell.⁶ He was sheriff of Caernarvonshire in 1583-4 and of Flintshire in 1577-8 and 1586-7.⁷ He first appeared in the Commission of the Peace for Flintshire in 1579 and remained in it until his death apart from two intervals of a year each

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1. Mostyn, Glenn suggest that he was born about 1535 (p. 99) but his parents did not marry until 1541, which suggests a date of birth about 1542 at the earliest.
 2. The authors cite William Llŷn's elegy on his father in support of this (Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn, p. 236).
 3. The total rental of the Pengwern section of the estate in 1576 was only £15. 12s. (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 88b) and the house and demesnes were subsequently let to an old servant, Thomas Jones, who held them in 1617 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478).
 4. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. xxxv.
 5. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 236.
 6. This cannot be proved although a sheriff was obliged to reside in his county during his term. Trecastell was held at this time by his uncle Piers Mostyn (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 89a) while the lease of Tregarnedd to William Glynne of Cleuar (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 719) was still in force.
 7. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, pp. 248, 254; he was under-sheriff to his father in 1560-1 (E. A. Ebbelwhite, 'Flintshire genealogical notes', in Arch. Camb., 1897, pp. 183-4).

in 1582 and 1599;⁸ he was also a justice for Caernarvonshire by 1581.⁹ By 1595 he was one of the two deputy lieutenants of Flintshire and the family history also describes him as muster-master for that county, while in 1596 he was appointed custos rotulorum of Caernarvonshire.¹⁰ In 1602 he became a member of the supreme body in Welsh affairs, the Council in the Marches of Wales;¹¹ from time to time he was also put into commissions to carry out particular duties.¹²

The succession of offices which Thomas Mostyn held shows the position his family had reached and the esteem in which he was held in North Wales. Nor were the poets silent about his achievements; the tenure of public office was more and more becoming a reason for bardic praise and this shows how the value of a new world were impinging on the old ideals of bonedd although men who did well in the service of the crown had never lacked cywyddau moliant.¹³ Siôn Mawddwy, for example, referred to Thomas in one poem as a member of the Council, a justice of

8. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, pp. 72, 73, 75.

9. Flenley, Register, p. 213. According to Mostyn and Glenn he was also a justice for Anglesey and Denbighshire (p. 99) but this is unlikely.

10. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 99; George Owen, The Taylor's Cussion (ed. E. M. Pritchard, 1906), pp. 366, 376; E. Breese, Kalendars of Gwynedd (1873), p. 26; A.P.C. XXV, 1595-1596, p. 75.

11. H.M.C. Reports, XIII, App. IV, p. 249.

12. In October, 1592, for example, he was one of the justices empowered to swear those justices of the peace in Flintshire and Caernarvonshire who had not yet taken the necessary oaths (A.P.C. XXIII, 1592, p. 261) and in February, 1601, he was commissioned, along with Thomas Ravenscroft and Robert Davies, to arrest John Salusbury and Peter Wynne after the Essex revolt (A.P.C. XXXI, 1600-1601, p. 168). A Thomas Mostyn was serving in Ireland between 1588 and 1591; in October, 1588, he was one of three men who wrote to Sir Richard Bingham, the President of Connaught, to report that Sorley Boy MacDonnell's messenger to Sir Brian O'Rourke had declared that 3,500 Spaniards, having burned their broken ships, had sent for aid and that two more Spanish ships had arrived (Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1588-1592, p. 64). Among the charges against O'Rourke in 1591 was one from Thomas Mostyn, sheriff of Fermanagh, that he had conspired with O'Donnell to bring in Scottish mercenaries and Bingham confirmed this (J. Payne Collier, ed., The Egerton Papers (Camden Soc., 1840), p. 147; I am indebted to Miss Enid Roberts for this reference). For details of the O'Rourke case see R. Bagwell, Ireland under the Tudors, III (1890), pp. 212-7. This Thomas Mostyn could have been Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn or his youngest son; he might also have been one of the sons of William Mostyn of Maes-glas or another son of Robert Mostyn, the father of the soldiers William and Hugh, who had a connection with Connaught (cf. Chapter IV above, note 84). The last possibility is probably the most likely.

13. The tenure of office is discussed in Chapter VII and the reaction of the poets is considered in Chapter X of this study.

the peace, a deputy-lieutenant, and custos rotulorum and other poems by other poets are in similar terms.¹⁴ All these offices were sought after, not only for the authority, but also for the prestige which they conferred; they set the seal of royal approval on the standing of their holders in the community.

Thomas Mostyn did not add very much to the estate; it was his son Roger who really entered the land market on a large scale. On the evidence of the surviving deeds Thomas spent at least £40. 6s. 8d. on property in Creuddyn, Llangollen, and Mostyn itself between 1577 and 1585.¹⁵ None of these purchases were large ones and the only other occasion on which Thomas acquired land was in 1603 when he paid £110 on behalf of himself and his grandson Thomas for a capital messuage and lands in Caerwys;¹⁶ this was probably intended for his young namesake rather than for himself. In the 1590s Roger began to buy land in his own right and henceforth all transactions, except the 1603 Caerwys purchase, were by him; the estate itself, however, remained in his father's hands and several leases granted by him, especially of properties in Anglesey, survive among the family papers.¹⁷ The crown lease of Mostyn itself was renewed in 1584;¹⁸ the new lease was to Thomas and his two surviving sons Roger and Thomas for their three lives at an annual rent of £7 and a fine of three years' rent and it included the court leet with all its profits and perquisites.

Thus Thomas was content to live on the profits of his estates and enjoy an income which was a little under £300 exclusive of the Mostyn demesne in 1576 but which was steadily increasing thereafter. He paid subsidies from time to time but the subsidy rolls do not, of course, shed any light on the real value of the estate although they give some indication of the relative standing of landowners in the county concerned. In the subsidy of 1592 he was assessed at £10 in Whitford.¹⁹ A Roger Mostyn was assessed at £3 but the document does not state whether this was his son or his uncle who also held lands in the parish. The only

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14. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 12, f. 7a; for a full list of poems see Appendix D.
 15. N.L.W. Thorne 197, 52; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1022, 1027 (Creuddyn); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1623 (Llangollen), U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3042 (Whitford Garn); 2866 (Mostyn).
 16. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2030.
 17. Leases and leasing policy are discussed in Chapter VI.
 18. Calendar of Augmentations Records, p. 403.
 19. D. R. Thomas, 'Flintshire subsidy roll, 1592' in Arch. Camb., 1902, p. 144.

one of 160 other landowners worth more than Thomas Mostyn was John Hamner of Hamner, assessed at £13, while Roger Puleston of Emral was also assessed at £10. Next in the scale came John Conway of Bodrhyddan and William Hamner, assessed at £7, Roger Brereton of Halghton at £6 and a number, including Piers Mostyn the younger of Talacre and his brother William of Basingwerk and Maes-glas, assessed at £5. For all its inadequacies this subsidy roll does show that Mostyn was now one of the three leading estates in the county and it had not yet reached its peak.²⁰

He was involved in a certain amount of litigation during his life; this included Exchequer cases over coal-mining rights in Mostyn in 1603-4 and over part of the township of Tregarnedd (in which he was one of several defendants) in 1606-7.²¹ In 1612-3 he and Sir Thomas Hamner brought an action in the same court against a number of other Flintshire gentlemen concerning various escheat lands in the county and there are references to several minor actions among the family papers.²² But he does not appear, from the surviving evidence, to have become involved in large-scale litigation. The action over coal-mining rights is the most interesting, especially when considered in conjunction with another action brought in the same court by Roger in 1604-5;²³ it was brought against Sir Thomas, as he now was, and Roger by Sir John Egerton, accusing them of digging for coal on crown land. In the second case Egerton was accused of encroaching on land held by Roger and digging coal there and the two cases show

20. In the subsidy of 1621 Sir Roger Mostyn was assessed at £20 in Whitford. Sir John Hamner was assessed at £12, Sir John Conway at £11, Sir Thomas Brereton and Sir Richard Trevor at £10, and Edward Mostyn of Talacre at £8 which suggests that the Mostyns of Mostyn had now become the wealthiest family in Flintshire (B.M. Add. MS. 19870; I am indebted to Professor J. Gwynn Williams for this reference).

21. P.R.O. E112/149/35 (Flintshire); E112/144/54 (Anglesey); the litigation is examined in Chapter VIII.

22. T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, ed., Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales, temp. James I (1955), p. 201; A.P.C. XXI, 1592, p. 121 (case of slander v William Williams of Cochwillan); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6857 (dispute over boundaries in Creuddyn, 1604); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6858 (counsel's opinion in dispute with Piers Pennant over ploughing).

23. P.R.O. E112/149/33 (Flintshire).

the importance even then of the coal-mining interests which were to contribute so much to the family fortunes. Coal was being mined at Mostyn as early as 1294 but it was in the seventeenth century that it really emerged as a mining centre.

The rise of the Mostyns is also shown by their increasing contact with the great. Both Mostyn and Gloddaith lay on the line of the Irish road and by the last decade of the sixteenth century they were entertaining the Lord Deputy on his way to Dublin. This was a sure sign of wealth and an occasion for conspicuous consumption, a veritable 'lesson in politics and in every courtly usage'.²⁴ Sir William Russell was appointed Lord Deputy in 1594. He kept a journal and this reveals that on 21 July, 1594, he was staying at Gloddaith as the guest of 'Mr. Mostian';²⁵ on his return from Ireland three years later he stayed with Thomas's uncle Rowland Mostyn.²⁶ But this visit was overshadowed by that of the queen's favourite, the earl of Essex, in April, 1599, when on his way to take over as Lord Lieutenant. Held up by contrary winds and fog, as he reported to the Council, he spent Easter at Mostyn and was entertained lavishly;²⁷ indeed, so impressive was the entertainment that he knighted his host on the spot according to Sir George Cary's subsequent report to Cecil.²⁸ This was the first

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24. David Mathew, The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe (1933), p. 35. Archbishop Mathew sees the Irish road as the great instrument of social and political change in North Wales (*ibid.*, pp. 34-41); if a house lay on or near one of the main roads to London its owner was far more open to new ideas than was his counterpart in a remoter part of the country and he was far more likely to be in touch with new political and religious developments. The Archbishop suggests that as a result of this North Wales reacted far more quickly to the Tudor new order than did South or Mid-Wales, especially since the principal houses like Mostyn, Lleweni, Gwydir, and Baron Hill were situated near the road. The influence of the Irish road cannot be discounted entirely but there were other factors which contributed to the growing sophistication of the North Wales gentry at this time, among them being the increasing tendency to send their sons to the universities and the Inns of Court, membership of parliament and the consequent visits to London, membership of the Council at Ludlow, litigation at Ludlow and Westminster, and the regular visits of the judges of the Great Sessions. These points are discussed in the later chapters of this study.
25. Cal. Carew MSS., 1589-1601, p. 221.
26. Ibid., p. 260.
27. Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1599-1600, p. 9.
28. Ibid., p. 32.

knighthood to be bestowed on the family, although it did Essex little good; excessive creation of knights was one of the charges made against him on his return.²⁹ But when he visited Mostyn, Thomas was obviously determined to make an impression, not only on Essex himself, but also on local opinion; one wonders how far he was aware that the favourite's star was waning and that the Irish venture was his last throw and whether he went ahead nevertheless for the sake of his prestige in North Wales. Essex's motives in knighting Sir Thomas must also be open to question; the dubbing might have been a bid for Mostyn support at a time when he was working to build up a party in North Wales but if this were the case he miscalculated.³⁰ Certainly the poets commemorated the visit and the lavishness of the hospitality, as well they might; it was not often that one of their patrons entertained one of the greatest men in the land. No less than five poets, Siôn Tudur, Huw Machno, Huw Roberts, Owain Gwynedd, and Rhys Cain, referred to the entertainment and Siôn Tudur's comments are typical:³¹

Llety fu i holl Gymru i gyd,
 Lletyfwr ieirll wyt hefyd;
 Rhai o urddas âi i'r Werddon,
 Ac nid âi heb neb dŷ Nonn.
 Llawer gwledd ieirll, arglwyddi,
 Dwbl o stad yn dy blas di,
 Llawer saig deg o'th gegin
 A llu gwyllt dunellau gwin;
 Ni bu i'n gwlad er Cadell,
 Ni welodd iarll un wledd well.
 Iarll Essex, wr lluosawg,

29. J. B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth (1936), p. 371.

30. The connections of North Wales with the Essex revolt are discussed by A. H. Dodd in 'North Wales in the Essex revolt of 1601' in E.H.R., LIX (1944), pp. 348-70; Sir Thomas's attitude is considered in Chapter VII of this study.

31. N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 302, quoted by R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru, IX, pp. 88-9: 'It was the lodging of all Wales, you are also the host of earls; some men of dignity went to Ireland, and no one went without (visiting) the house of Non. Many a feast of earls, lords, double state in your house, many a fair meal from your kitchen and a wild host of barrels of wine; there was not (such a visitor) to our land since Cadell, no earl saw a better feast. The earl of Essex, a man with many followers, will remember this day for a long time to come. There were earls over all the soldiers, all with him and his men, and lords, courageous wise men, a fair host to follow him, the wise man. Fair noble knights, splendid there and more. Let God grant you health for beautifying all Wales, for giving a feast to my lords, word of which is with her Grace and her council, lady of Windsor, she owes you great thanks for this'.

E geir hyn yn ei gof rhawg,
 Ieirll oedd ar holl lueddwyr
 Gydag ef i gyd a'u gwŷr,
 Ac arglwyddi, gwŷr glewddoeth,
 Glân dorŷ i'w ganlyn, y doeth,
 Marchogion, urddolion deg,
 Gwych yno ac ychwaneg.
 Duw ich adawo iechyd
 Am harddu holl Gymru i gyd.
 Am roi gwledd i'm arglwyddi
 Y gair sydd gyda'i Gras Hi
 A'i Chownsel, ferch o Winsawr,
 Dêl ich am hyn diolch mawr;

The implication seems to be that the knighthood was a royal reward for the hospitality, which suggests that Siôn was not really aware of the queen's notorious parsimony where the granting of honours was concerned, or of the trouble caused by Essex's carefree dubbings. The other poems are in similar vein; what is particularly interesting is that the awdlau of Huw Machno and Rhys Cain were composed after the fall and execution of the favourite, which indicates that the visit must have been regarded as one of the high points of Sir Thomas's career.³²

In addition to these five poems there are awdlau by Siôn Tudur and Siôn Mawddwy and a cywydd by William Cynwal.³³ All the poems deal with the usual topics, including Thomas's ancestry, the Five Courts, his influence and his attitude to his tenants.³⁴ Their comments on the last-named topic suggest that this attitude was a rather old-fashioned one and that he either lacked the worldly wisdom of his contemporaries or did not choose to imitate it; he respected established tenancies and did not seek to push rents up when leases fell due for renewal.³⁵ This was what society expected of a man in Sir Thomas's position

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32. It is, however, worth remembering that these poems were composed after the accession of James I when Essex was enjoying a certain degree of posthumous rehabilitation.
33. These poems are listed in Appendix D; see also R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., pp. 88-9.
34. See, for example, Dan Lynn James, 'Bywyd a gwaith Huw Machno' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1960), pp. 30-2; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 12, f. 6b (Siôn Mawddwy); the point is discussed in more detail in Chapter X.
35. This is considered in Chapter VI of this study; see, in particular, the poems by Huw Machno and Rhys Cain.

and the Mostyns do seem to have been able to live with two cultures for a longer time than most;³⁶ Sir Thomas, in particular, could consort with the great and yet, at the same time, be regarded by the poets as a patron of the old school, dispensing hospitality to an army of tenants and dependants.

One feature of Huw Machno's awdl is of considerable interest. The usual themes are there, among them the Five Courts, the descent of the patron and his wife and their liberality, the various public offices, and the Essex visit and Sir Thomas is also described as 'pen cenedl' which sets him in a traditional context.³⁷ But the final section of the poem is especially worthy of comment:³⁸

Os yn Farchog doni'g adwaenon',
Doe y'th urddwyd, wr doeth i 'Werddon,
Yn Lloegr heddiw, enillgar roddion,
Ti a gei'raddau teg arwyddion
Brenin Siams ddi-nam sydd union - yma
Yn iarll a'th urdda cyfa' cofion

The next step, following Sir Thomas's knighthood, says the poet, will be his elevation to the peerage by the new king and the creation of an earldom in his favour. It may be that this was one of the clichés with which contemporary poetry abounded; if so it illustrates the change which had come over the whole tradition of patronage since lineage, courage, and generosity had been enough for the medieval uchelwr. Although the Mostyn income was steadily increasing it was nowhere near the level needed to support the dignity of an earl, even after James I had broken the log-jam of Elizabeth's reign and begun to bestow peerages a little more lavishly.³⁹ Although only the Herberts had so far made the ranks of the peerage from Wales there was no reason why others should not follow. An earldom, however, was a little over-ambitious; the Bulkeleys, who were the richest family in North Wales, could do no better than an Irish viscountcy. And a peerage could be a risk; the way of life expected of a lord was far more expensive and

36. This attitude to landownership was not confined to Wales; for a discussion of it in England see L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, (abridged edn., 1967), pp. 143-4.

37. Dan Lynn James, Op. cit., pp. 30-2; this poem is examined in detail in Chapter X.

38. Ibid., p. 32; since the sense of this quotation is given above, no translation is appended.

39. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, p. 49; during the last 30 years of her reign Elizabeth had only created one new peer.

could, unless great care was taken, mean financial disaster.

Sir Thomas was twice married. His first wife was Ursula Goodman, the daughter of his father's second wife Margaret Brereton and therefore his step-sister; the two marriages formed a single transaction.⁴⁰ According to William Cynwal Ursula died in 1578, two years after her husband had inherited the estate.⁴¹ By her he had three sons, William, Roger, and Thomas, and two daughters, Margaret and Katherine. William predeceased his father; according to a later lawsuit he died about 1586 and when the entail on Mostyn was renewed in 1569 it was settled first on Thomas and then on young William and his heirs which shows that he was the eldest son.⁴² Thomas Mostyn remarried in 1582. Again this was one of the double transactions which were not uncommon at that time; under the terms of the settlement, made on 6 February, 1582, he was to marry Katherine Griffith, widow of Sir Rhys Griffith of Penrhyn and daughter of his recently-deceased great-uncle Piers Mostyn of Talacre, while his daughter Margaret was to marry Piers, Sir Rhys's eldest son and heir.⁴³ Piers was fourteen at the time of the marriage and his stepfather seems to have taken some responsibility for him although there is no record among the Mostyn or Penrhyn papers as to whether he obtained his wardship;⁴⁴ one of the Mostyn account books contains details of the expenditure on sending him to University College, Oxford, in 1586.⁴⁵ But this tutelage did Piers little good; he was eventually forced to sell the estate to pay his debts.⁴⁶ The Gloddaith estate was settled on Katherine along with the tithes and the Penrhyn jointure lands were to be conveyed to Piers when he came of age. Piers and Margaret had three sons, who all died in infancy, and seven daughters;⁴⁷ in 1616 when Piers's misfortunes had finally landed him in the Fleet Sir Thomas brought a Chancery suit against him

40. The settlement is discussed in Chapter IV above; see also Chapter IX.

41. N.L.W. Mostyn 111, f. 257a; (cywydd marwnad for Ursula Mostyn).

42. N.L.W. Chirk Castle 11263; Clwyd R.O., D/M/573.

43. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 102; Margaret's portion was £400.

44. What papers there are among the Penrhyn documents relate to Piers suing out his livery after coming of age.

45. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 6a.

46. Bywgraffiadur, pp. 278-9.

47. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 108; the daughters were Katherine, Jane, Dorothy, Margaret, Ursula, Grace, and Elizabeth.

over the non-payment of their portions, since most of his lands had either been sold or were under mortgage, and he was ordered to pay them.⁴⁸ Katherine survived her second husband, by whom she had no children, and her elegy was sung by Siôn Cain.⁴⁹

With his eldest surviving son Roger Sir Thomas's relations were particularly bad but unfortunately there is no information available to explain why. The family history suggests that the business started with a series of misunderstandings between Sir Thomas and John Wynn of Gwydir and that things were not made any easier by the marriage of Sir Thomas's heir and Wynn's daughter.⁵⁰ Roger Mostyn would appear to have chosen his own wife and the marriage might have been the cause of the estrangement of father and son; Roger's younger brother Thomas apparently supported his father. The quarrel was certainly in progress by 1600; on 6 May of that year John Wynn wrote to his son-in-law expressing his misgivings about helping him, although he was ready to do so if necessary. The last thing he wanted to do was to cause trouble between father and son:⁵¹

My advyse also unto you was to submit your self in all Resonable matters unto him; as thus being an obeyent child to the father. I now that you are com to the very bent of his end now; grantinge all cosin Pers dyd or cwd desyre; I see not to what purpose I shoud be thear ... I could never ... for this fowre years space fynd that kyndnes or justice att your fathers hands, as I call frends together to judge whether yow or your brother wear in the fawt wherof all this unkindnes began, ever overrulyng me with his fatherly aucthority over you, that be hit Ryght or wronge so should hit be & that he wold sett up your brother to be able to beard you att your dore. Yf your father after you have yeld to his wyll in all wyll trye you to do the thinge that lyeth not in your power to do, which ys to Rule me att pleasure (which I may not be to my dyscredyt in the face of the world) hit appeereth he caryeth a further meanyng that I must for ever in a bond tenure remane att his whistelyng and may (uppon every lyght corrent or the unresonable humor of his friends be fed) fall owt agane with you & with me.

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48. U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 134; on 8 May, 1643, Margaret and three of her daughters and their husbands made a general release to William Mostyn of Rhyd of all actions concerning a legacy by Sir Thomas to Thomas his son of £300 during her life for her maintenance while she lived apart from her late husband (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 144).
49. N.L.W. Peniarth 117, p. 51.
50. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 103.
51. N.L.W. 9052/206 quoted in Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 103-4.

The letter is clear evidence of the breach. It does appear that Sir Thomas was trying to exercise influence over Wynn, possibly through Roger; this might have been something to do with the marriage or something within the wider context of North Wales politics. Roger seems to have quarrelled with his younger brother and there is a hint that their father intended, as far as he was able, to make the younger Thomas his heir; this, in fact, is what he did. And there are some other suggestive points; 'cosin Pers' may well be Piers Griffith of Penrhyn, to whom the Wynns as well as the Mostyns were related.⁵² It is possible that Roger objected to his father's dealings with his step-brother.

A letter dated 1 December, 1605, from Sir Thomas to John Wynn also seems to reflect the bad relations between the two men;⁵³ it is mainly concerned with settlements by the former on his grandchildren, but he also thanked Wynn rather ungraciously for the gift of two oxen, protesting that there was no reason to send them and that they would have been returned had he not wished to offend his sister. By 1608 relations between father and son seem to have improved slightly; on 29 March Sir Roger (as by now he was) wrote to his father-in-law and remarked that he had been at Ludlow dealing with various legal matters on his father's behalf.⁵⁴ In the same year Sir Thomas was deeply involved in the tangled affairs of Piers Griffith; in a letter written to Sir John from Mostyn on 16 November Sir Roger said that his father was being troubled by the endless Penrhyn business 'so that he can scarce take tyme to eate his meatt quietlye'.⁵⁵ Both Roger and his brother had gone through all the deeds but now he wanted to check them himself; he was also thinking of paying a visit to Caernarvonshire to see Sir John, an intention of which his son hoped to dissuade him since he suspected that his real aim was to be 'iarringe among those that loveth him not'. In a

52. Sir John's maternal grandmother was the daughter of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn and thus the sister of Sir Thomas's grandmother Jane Mostyn (Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 42, 182, 281). He said in the same letter that 'Mostyn ys no fitt place for me to Reson with your father in my cosin Griff cause'.

53. N.L.W. 9053/368.

54. C.W.P. 479.

55. N.L.W. 9054/584. The editor of the Calendar of the Wynn Papers dates this between 1611 and 1614 but since it relates to the Penrhyn affair as does 491, 1608 is suggested.

further letter, dated Christmas Day, 1608, Sir Roger described a meeting he had had at Penrhyn with his cousin Salusbury;⁵⁶ they had offered to give Sir Thomas enough security to discharge him from providing any maintenance in his lifetime and that of his wife. She was to have Gloddaith and receive a portion agreed by herself and her son, while Piers's wife (Sir Roger's sister) would have security of £30 annually for her upkeep. This affair seems to have concerned Piers's mother's dower and his wife's jointure and Sir Thomas was involved both as husband and father; the Penrhyn connections being what they were, the disentanglement of the affairs of Piers Griffith must have involved a great many people. The letter also suggests that Sir Thomas and his wife were now living apart;⁵⁷ Gloddaith had been settled on her at the time of their marriage in 1582. Sir Roger would undertake to pay his stepmother an annuity of £200, quite apart from any jointures or anything else arising from the estate. He was anxious to enlist the help of William Jones of Castellmarch, the future judge, who was legal adviser to most of the gentry of North Wales at this time.⁵⁸

But the breach between Sir Roger and his father was never really healed: there is another reference in a letter from him to Sir John dated 20 May and written some time between 1611 and 1614.⁵⁹ He had met the judge at the recent assizes:

The judge made exceede much of me and had some speach with me touchinge my father, and I desired by him to know the occasion of my father's dislyke seeinge he entended to see him, and that I thought he had or would reveale yt to him, yf any wear or would signifie the same to any to which he answered that the greatest matter he could find was that I did not seeke unto him whearto I answered that himself was my best wittnes that was not so for that I entreated his payns to my father to desire his love and diverse others sythens.

Sir Thomas had apparently told the judge that Sir Roger had refused his good offices, which he denied; the judge then promised to talk to Sir Thomas but Sir

56. N.L.W. 465/491.

57. She appears from the letter to have been living at Gloddaith, while Sir Thomas was at Mostyn.

58. Bywgraffiadur II, pp. 123-4.

59. N.L.W. 9055/679. The judge may have been Sir Henry Townshend, second justice of the Chester circuit, who seems to have been friendly with Sir Thomas; he was left £5 to buy a cup in Sir Thomas's will (Hist. Great Sessions (1899) p. 56; Clwyd R.O. D/M/3734). The letter casts an interesting light on the position that the judges of the Great Sessions occupied in the community.

Roger had, as yet, heard nothing further. The last letters which refer to Sir Thomas relate to his final illness; on 11 February, 1618, Sir Roger informed Sir John that his father was ill and not likely to last more than a few days.⁶⁰ He had gone to Mostyn to seek his blessing but had not been admitted, although Sir Thomas had said that 'he would with all his hart blesse mee my wyffe and children'. He was grown very weak and had not eaten for several days; his memory, however, was still perfect and he had not abandoned his prejudice against his heir. All that he had left him was some old plate originally intended for him by his grandmother.⁶¹ He was afraid that his father would part with all his money before he died and he therefore intended to do all he could to keep people away from the deathbed; his best course of action would be to come to some kind of agreement with his stepmother 'altho he hath done what he could to barre her from his goodes'. The younger Thomas was afraid that Roger might do something but he was so upset that he was not to be feared. A further letter, written six days later, indicated that Sir Thomas was certainly dying and described his symptoms but he was no better disposed to his heir.⁶² The house was being guarded to make sure that nothing was taken from it before his arrival and he added that some had advised him to have no dealings with his stepmother.

It is impossible to tell how far Sir Thomas's breach with his heir was connected with the ill-feeling between Mostyn and Gwydir which had, according to the family history, almost taken on the proportions of a feud by Sir Thomas's death. The whole business may have originated in a quarrel between Sir Thomas and Sir John, neither of them the humblest of men, and the marriage might have made things worse; it might even have been a deliberate step taken by Roger in

60. N.L.W. 9056/820.

61. This, presumably, was the plate which Margaret Mostyn, William's second wife, had left him in her will in 1595 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 107).

62. N.L.W. 9056/821.

defiance of his father.⁶³ There might have been nothing worse than a not uncommon tension between generations. Relations were never completely broken off, however, and the hostility did not extend to Roger's children;⁶⁴ indeed, Sir Thomas seems to have been the proverbial doting grandfather, the second son, John, being his particular favourite. In August, 1608, Sir Roger told Sir John that his father wanted John at Mostyn to keep him company during an illness and he feared that he would be spoilt there and on another occasion, possibly in 1615, he remarked that Sir Thomas liked to see the children and had sent for them several times.⁶⁵

Sir Thomas's younger son Thomas was granted lands at Rhyd, probably those which had been an outlier of the Gloddaith estate in the fourteenth century, and it was with Rhyd that he was always associated.⁶⁶ He first appeared in the Commission of the Peace for Flintshire in 1602 and he was sheriff of the county three times, in 1612-3, 1627, and 1636-7.⁶⁷ In 1597 he married Anne, daughter of William Hughes, bishop of St. Asaph, by whom he had three sons and three daughters;⁶⁸ she died in 1608 and in 1624 he married Gwen, daughter of John Wynn ap Rhys of Llwyn-ynn and widow of Richard Parry, also bishop of St. Asaph.⁶⁹ Parry's daughter Anne married Thomas's heir William and Thomas's daughter Mary married Parry's son Richard as part of the same transaction. Thomas died in 1642, the same year as his nephew, his will being dated 14 April;⁷⁰ he left pieces of

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63. The possible significance of the marriage feast at Gwydir in 1596 and the poetry composed in connection with it as a cause of the ill-feeling between Mostyn and Gwydir is considered in Chapter X. In 1597 Sir Thomas had arbitrated in a dispute between John Wynn and Sir Richard Bulkeley over land in the commote of Isaf and had found in Bulkeley's favour (U.C.N.W. Baron Hill 2524); the Bulkeleys were the Wynns' great rivals in the Conway valley (J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Wynn family and estate of Gwydir: their origins, growth and development up to 1674' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, 1974), p. 157).
64. In 1600 Roger bound himself in £1,000 to his father that his stepmother would have Gloddaith for life (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 114) and in the same year he assigned him his new lease of the manor of Gogarth (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4099).
65. N.L.W. 9053/482; 9061/1455.
66. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 195; R. Alun Charles, *Op. cit.*, p. 104.
67. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, p. 76; P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 254.
68. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 108; the documents relating to the settlement are U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 109-113.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 195; the marriage settlement is Clwyd R.O. D/M/3610.
70. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 142; his second son Thomas was of unsound mind.

gold to his nephews Roger and John Mostyn. Sir Thomas's second daughter Katherine married Thomas, the son of John Hanmer of Hanmer, the heir of the one Flintshire family that was wealthier than the Mostyns; like the Penrhyn marriage this was an important dynastic alliance and Sir Thomas Hanmer was undoubtedly a more satisfactory son-in-law than Piers Griffith. The settlement was dated 11 January, 1589, and it stipulated that the marriage should take place before 2 February following.⁷¹ It seems to have been some time before the jointure was finally settled; in 1612 Sir Thomas bound himself in 2,000 marks to Sir Roger to convey certain lands to trustees for this purpose.⁷² The Hanmer marriage produced three sons and three daughters.

Although there is no evidence to corroborate some of the family history's description of Sir Thomas, it must be remembered that the then Lord Mostyn was co-author of the book and that many traditions have been handed down in the family. He is said to have been on friendly terms with many of his eminent contemporaries, including Burghley, Buckhurst, and Essex.⁷⁴ In his description of the library at Mostyn Pennant mentioned a manuscript of the first and second books of Froissart presented by Buckhurst to Burghley (then Sir William Cecil) and then presented by him to Sir Thomas.⁷⁵ Indeed, Sir Thomas seems to have been responsible for the foundation of the great Mostyn library.⁷⁶ At one time there was at Mostyn a letter from Burghley thanking Sir Thomas for the gift of a cast of peregrines from Gloddaith.⁷⁷ He was not, say Mostyn and Glenn, a greedy accumulator of lands, and the surviving deeds show him, in fact, to have purchased very little.⁷⁸ He had excellent personal qualities, being handsome,

71. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 104; the portion was £800. There is another pre-nuptial settlement among the Bettisfield papers (N.L.W. Bettisfield 590) dated 31 August, 1597. Katherine was Sir Thomas's second wife; he died in 1619.

72. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 124.

73. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 108-9.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

75. T. Pennant, History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell, p. 75.

76. The Mostyn library is discussed in Chapter IX.

77. Mostyn and Glenn also suggest (p. 101) that the breeding of doves there described by Pennant and Gilbert White began at this time; the dovecot there dates from the seventeenth century (R.C.A.M. Inventory, Caernarvonshire I (East), p. 179).

78. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 101.

able, and 'of a kindly gracious disposition'. There is not really enough material to confirm or to challenge this reading of Sir Thomas Mostyn's character and what information is available tends to suggest a strong-willed, obstinate, and not altogether likeable person whose relations with his second wife and his heir were undoubtedly bad and whose hostility towards the latter continued, even on his deathbed. But he was a man of standing who held most offices in his county and was even host to the queen's favourite, and it was during his lifetime that the family really emerged as one of the most important in north-east Wales; he also maintained the family tradition of patronage, being, as it were, pencenedl as well as custos rotulorum. And although it is impossible to know precisely what manner of man Sir Thomas was, it is at least possible to know what he looked like. His is the earliest family portrait at Mostyn; he appears as a typical gentleman of the late Tudor period, clad in armour and holding a pistol in his right hand.⁷⁹ Around his left arm is tied a scarf, which may signify that he was a deputy-lieutenant; men took pride in the offices they held and painters, like poets, were coming to reflect that pride.

Sir Thomas Mostyn died at Mostyn on 21 February, 1618;⁸⁰ his will was drawn up in his bedchamber there by Peter Roberts the notary on 9 December, 1617.⁸¹ He was buried at Whitford the following Sunday at night, but the funeral ceremonies, which required detailed preparation, were not held until Palm Sunday, 29 March. The funeral certificate lists his surviving children and their offspring and describes his arms but there are no details of the order of the procession.⁸² In his will he gave directions for his burial at Whitford and left £5 for the repair of the church and 10 marks to the poor of the parish;⁸³ he also left £2 for the repair of Eglwys Rhos and the same sum to the poor there. There were a number of legacies for his friends; Sir Peter Warburton, a justice

79. The portrait is reproduced in Mostyn & Glenn, facing p. 96.

80. Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd, p. 68.

81. Ibid., p. 66.

82. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 108-9.

83. Clwyd R.O., D/M/3734; the will is reproduced in Appendix E (5).

of the Common Pleas, was to have four porticues, Sir Richard Bulkeley 10 marks to buy a cup, and Sir Henry Townshend, puisne justice of Chester and a fellow-member of the Council, £5 for the same purpose.⁸⁴ His son-in-law Sir Thomas Hamner was to have his grey gelding and he and his wife were also left a case of silver plate recently bought in London. Sir Roger Puleston was left a diamond ring and the choice of a colt, Sir Roger Mostyn was to have the plate already mentioned, and Sir Thomas's daughter Katherine Hamner was left £220 in gold; her son John was left £10 to buy a gelding. John Jeffreys, judge of the Great Sessions and Sir Thomas's legal adviser, received 20 nobles to buy a cup. The younger Thomas was to retain £300 for the maintenance of his other sister Margaret Griffith, as long as she should live apart from her husband Piers; after her death what was left of it was to be divided among her children and Thomas had also to set aside 12 cows, 100 sheep, a large amount of bed-linen, and some plate for her upkeep. Other legacies included his best gold chain to Sir Roger's second son John when he reached the age of 20, 40 shillings to each of his leading servants, all mentioned by name, and 10 shillings to each of the other servants at Mostyn and Gloddaith.⁸⁵ Should Sir Roger sue or trouble Thomas the legacies to him and his son would be void; he was not to hinder Thomas's access to the houses or trouble him in any way. Thomas was sole executor and residuary legatee and most of the personal property had already been made over to him in a separate deed. The entailed estate could not be taken from Sir Roger but his father's hostility did not abate, even at the end, and the lack of any reference to his wife confirms the impression of an estrangement.⁸⁶

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84. A portigue or porticue was a Portuguese gold coin worth between £3. 5s. and £4. 10s. and often kept as an heirloom or keepsake.
85. The gold chain was probably the one weighing 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sent to John, then at Cambridge, by his father on 19 October, 1621 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 73b).
86. There was subsequently a dispute between Thomas and his step-mother over the estate; Sir James Whitelock, Chief Justice of Chester, whose daughter married Roger's eldest son, apparently refused to act for Thomas in the ensuing action unless the brothers were reconciled (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 7294).

After the funeral came the settlement. Two days after Sir Thomas's death Sir Roger wrote to his father-in-law to tell him that he had composed his difference with his brother over the estate.⁸⁷ Notwithstanding the will and the quarrel he had either prevailed on his brother to give him a share or Thomas had felt obliged to do so. He was to have about £2,000 in money, plate, chattels, corn, and hay and all the household goods at Gloddaith which he intended to visit in the near future. The composition between the brothers seems finally to have been concluded on 20 August, 1618, when Thomas released and quitclaimed to Sir Roger all the money, plate, goods, and chattels which he had given him in performance of an agreement concluded between them by the mediation of friends after their dispute over their father's personal estate.⁸⁸ On 2 September following Dame Katherine Mostyn made a general release to Thomas of her title to the goods and chattels of her late husband and all actions against her step-son;⁸⁹ this, too, was obviously the result of negotiation. The inquisition post mortem, taken at Conway on 12 January, 1619, found that Sir Roger Mostyn, the heir, was aged at least 52;⁹⁰ there was some further delay in settling matters since an extent made in pursuance of a writ from the Court of Wards on 12 July, 1620, found that livery had not yet been prosecuted for the Flintshire lands.⁹¹

It is possible to know Sir Roger Mostyn better than any of his predecessors; his close relationship with his father-in-law led to the survival of many of his letters among the Gwydir correspondence and the letters reveal much of the man and his activities. There is some confusion about his date of birth; according to Peter Roberts he was 82 when he died in August, 1642, which would mean that

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87. N.L.W. 9056/822; the letter is printed in full in Mostyn & Glenn, p. 123.
88. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 130; under this agreement Roger was to have £1,000 in cash as well as other goods, plate, implements, and household stuff, corn, grain and cattle at Mostyn and Gloddaith.
89. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 131; on 2 March, 1618, Thomas had bound himself in £10,000 to administer his father's goods and chattels until the determination of a suit then pending in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury between himself and his step-mother over the will (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 129).
90. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 132.
91. P.R.O. S.C.11/903.

he had been born in late 1559 or early 1560.⁹² According to the Brasenose admission register he was admitted to the college in 1584 at the age of 16, which brings the year of his birth back to 1568 and this is supported by his portrait at Mostyn, according to which he was 67 when it was painted in 1634.⁹³ His father's inquisition post mortem, taken early in 1619, gave his age as '52 and more'. He and Thomas had certainly been born by 1569 when a new entail of the estate was created.⁹⁴ His admission to Oxford in 1584 suggests a later date; 24 would have been rather old to have gone up to the university at that time, but 82 poor men did take part in his funeral procession.⁹⁵ He matriculated at Brasenose on 8 May, 1584; there is no record of his having taken any degree and he became a student of Lincoln's Inn in 1588. This was the usual pattern for heirs to large estates; a spell at the university was generally followed by a period at one of the Inns of Court.⁹⁶

During the next decade Roger began to buy lands on his own account. The outstanding feature of this aspect of his career is that he moved into the land market on a very large scale after the comparative inactivity of his immediate predecessors. Indeed, he bought more land than anyone since Tudur ap Ithel Fychan in the fourteenth century. The extent of his purchases is revealed, not only by the surviving deeds but also by rentals, particularly the one which was probably drawn up soon after he inherited the estate in 1618.⁹⁷ In this rental a distinction is made between the lands he inherited from his father and those which he had purchased himself during Sir Thomas's lifetime. In Flintshire he had obtained lands worth £187. 10s. 4d. which brought in an annual rent of £127. 15s. 4d.; the figures for the rest of the estate in the county were £1,039. 15s. 9d. and £183. 9s. 7d. and the valuation in this case included the

92. Y Cwta Cyfarwydd, p. 204.

93. Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, 1500-1714, p. 1041; Mostyn & Glenn, facing p. 112.

94. Clwyd R.O., D/M/573.

95. The funeral certificate is in Mostyn & Glenn, p. 127. It is possible that he did not go to Oxford until after the death of the previous heir, his elder brother William, about this time.

96. Education is discussed in Chapter IX.

97. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486.

Mostyn demesne, valued at £472. 10s. The figures for Denbighshire were £52 and £25. 17s. as opposed to £127 and £72. 13s. 4d., while those for Caernarvonshire were £62. 6s. 8d. and £24. 9s. 8d. and £450. 14s. and £37. 18s. 8d.; here the valuation included the Gloddaith demesne, worth £329. 6s. 8d. No lands seem to have been bought in Anglesey. These purchases continued after Sir Roger, as he had by then become, had inherited the estate. His first independent purchase seems to have been in November, 1591, when he obtained property in Rhiwledin;⁹⁸ during the decade 1591-1600 he spent more than £172 on lands and tenements in Creuddyn, Pengwern, and Whitford Garn and he also paid £35 for the fourth part of the rectory of Eglwys Rhos.⁹⁹ His highest expenditure was £60 on a messuage called Y Tŷ Mawr and land in Pengwern in 1599.¹⁰⁰ The next decade saw the spending of more than £240 in Creuddyn, Pengwern, and a number of Flintshire townships including Caerwys and Rhuddlan. Some of these properties were bought in the names of Sir Roger and his eldest son Thomas, while his second son John was associated with him in others;¹⁰¹ later evidence confirms that a good deal of his activity in the land market was intended to provide for his children. For one messuage and land in Maesmorwyn, Rhyl, and various adjacent townships he paid £150 in 1610.¹⁰²

He went on buying during the next decade. The total expenditure in this period, during which he came into his inheritance, was in excess of £477.¹⁰³ At least £91 was spent before 1618 and this was followed by a bout of spending in the two years after Sir Thomas's death, especially in Pengwern where there were no less than eleven transactions between 1617 and 1620.¹⁰⁴ The highest sum paid was £230 in 1619 for land in Trelywelyn;¹⁰⁵ other properties were bought in

98. N.L.W. Thorne 136.

99. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1054.

100. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1655.

101. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2032 (Caerwys, with Thomas, 1605) and 2427 (i) (Hendrefigillt with John, 1609) are typical examples.

102. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2673.

103. It is impossible to give exact figures since not all deeds state the consideration involved.

104. These included the expenditure of £63. 13s. on Tyddyn y Gwyrnant in 1617 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1677) and £20 on Pengwern mill in 1620 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1695).

105. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2655.

various townships in Creuddyn and Flintshire. The period 1621-1630 saw little slackening; during this decade Sir Roger spent more than £336 on land in Creuddyn, Pengwern, and Flintshire, as well as £140 on the Gloddaith tithes, previously leased by the family, which he bought from Lewis Owen of High Holborn, London, in 1623.¹⁰⁶ The pace eased in the next decade; by now most of the buying was being done by Sir Roger's heir, Sir Thomas the younger, who spent more than £160 on lands in Llysycoed and Cilcain. Sir Roger's final purchase was in 1638 when he paid his kinsman Thomas Griffith of Pant y llongdy £260 for land in Maesmorwyn and Brynhedydd;¹⁰⁷ this was the highest sum he paid in a single transaction.

Thus Sir Roger Mostyn spent well over £1,500 on land. The sums he paid in individual transactions show that this activity was a great deal more than the rounding-off and consolidation of existing properties with which preceding generations had been content; some of his purchases were, as his will was eventually to show, intended to provide for his younger sons, while the rest probably sprang from a simple desire to increase his worldly goods. In 1600 he had leased the manor of Gogarth from the bishop of Bangor, surrendering the previous lease;¹⁰⁸ this was for the lives of himself, William Kyffin of Maenan, and Richard Wynn of Gwydir, with the stipulation that if he had a son within seven years he could be brought in in place of one of the lives, which suggests that his eldest son had not yet been born. He took up a new lease in 1627, again for three lives (his own, his wife's, and his eldest son's) at an annual rent of £16;¹⁰⁹ this was surrendered in 1642 to be replaced by a new one for the lives of his wife and his two grandsons Roger and Thomas at the same rent.¹¹⁰ For this he paid a fine of £400. He also purchased four seats in different parish churches;¹¹¹ at a time when most of the congregation stood a seat in the church

106. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6256.

107. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2683.

108. N.L.W. Thorne 227; the Gogarth leases are discussed in Chapter VIII of this study.

109. N.L.W. Thorne 248.

110. N.L.W. Thorne 190.

111. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1974 (Bodfari, 1606); 2446 (Halkyn, 1608); 2039 (Caerwys, 1610); 1149 (Llandudno, 1619).

was a valuable status symbol which gave a gentleman a little piece of ground where he could not only worship but could also be buried. Possession of these seats was important; men guarded them, went to law over them, and on occasion fought in defence of them.¹¹² In 1620 Sir Roger brought an action in the consistory court of St. Asaph against one Ellis Jones concerning a seat in Holywell church and a similar case was to arise in 1668 when Sir Roger Mostyn, the first baronet, sued a certain William Owen in Chancery over seats in Llangollen church in which the proprietors and residents of Pengwern had sitting and burying rights.¹¹³

When considering Sir Roger's activities in the land market one question stands out: where did the money for the initial purchases in his father's lifetime come from? He must have had an independent source of income to enable him to begin purchasing land. Unfortunately his marriage settlement has not survived, nor has any record of his father making any property over to him for his maintenance. Letters to his father-in-law between his marriage and his inheritance of the estate are dated from Cilcain from 1610 on, with two from Plas Uchaf at Mostyn in 1616 and 1618 but all the letters before 1610 were written from Mostyn itself, which suggests that it was some time before he had his own household.¹¹⁴ One possibility is that he was working the coal deposits at Mostyn; he seems to have been the first of the family to have taken an active interest in their economic potential and in 1602 he paid £70 for the assignment of a lease of the coal mines on the crown lands there.¹¹⁵ Moreover, it may not be without significance that the first reference to the export of coal from Mostyn is in 1600.¹¹⁶ It may be that Roger was left by his father to exploit the coal measures as best he could while Sir Thomas, more conservative in outlook,

112. For an example of violence over a pew and burying place (in this case in Rhuddlan church), see U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Gwysaney 661-2.

113. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6859; P.R.O. C5/428/39. The 1620 case is discussed in Chapter VIII.

114. This was, of course, the usual pattern among the nobility and gentry at this time (L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 269).

115. Clwyd R.O., D/M/871. The coal mines are discussed in Chapter VI.

116. E. A. Lewis, ed., *Welsh Port Books, 1550-1603* (1927), p. 290.

took a share but relied mainly on the income from the estate. A rental, probably drawn up at the end of the sixteenth century, stated that the coalpits had not been valued for its purposes;¹¹⁷ a later rental and valuation, possibly dating from soon after Sir Thomas's death, valued 'other Comodities' than land in Whitford at £700 annually and the tentative conclusion is that this was the income from the coal workings and that Sir Roger's exploitation of them made a vast difference to the family fortunes and made possible his large-scale investment in land.¹¹⁸

It was Sir Roger who finally obtained outright ~~lordship~~^{owner}ship of the manor or ~~owner~~^{lord}ship of Mostyn; in 1594 he had been granted the reversion of the lease made to his father in 1584 for a term of 31 years.¹¹⁹ But the long history of the family as lessees of Mostyn was now drawing to a close. There is a family tradition that Sir John Wynn promised to buy the lordship for his son-in-law as a wedding present and it was certainly Sir John who took the necessary steps to acquire it.¹²⁰ Although the marriage was in 1596 no action was taken until 1614; in that year Sir John bought a large amount of crown lands including Mostyn.¹²¹ On 6 May, 1614, Richard Budd, a clerk in the crown property office who kept an eye on Sir John's interests, informed him that he was about to make a bid for Mostyn but that he did not have much hope of success.¹²² A month later Sir John's second son Richard told his father that he had a lease of lands for his brother Mostyn that one Mr. Merry had tried to obtain and on the same day Budd

117. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5484.

118. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486. It should also be borne in mind that his grandmother Margaret Mostyn, who died in 1594, divided her residuary estate between Roger and Thomas and this might have given him some resources of his own (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 107).

119. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1591-1594, p. 555.

120. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 181. The manor is discussed in Appendix B to this study.

121. 'The Wynn family and estate', p. 91; in March, 1614, Maurice Owen had warned Sir John that a new Commission of Sales was being appointed to sell another £2,000 worth of crown rents and had promised to instruct Richard to go forward in the matter (C.W.P. 649). Both Elizabeth I and James I found it necessary to sell off the crown's capital assets in order to balance the books.

122. N.L.W. 9055/656.

reported that Mostyn and the coal mine there had been obtained by Richard at 53 years' purchase;¹²³ the fact that Merry, Clerk of the Kitchen, was also a bidder had pushed the price up. Merry seems to have been acting for someone else; according to Richard he would not reveal the name of his principal but he did volunteer the information that he was ready to go up to 130 years' purchase and that he would have £1,000 in gold if he were successful. On 7 July Sir John wrote to his eldest son, then in Italy, telling him the story.¹²⁴ Merry had offered 50 years' purchase and then withdrawn, thinking that the commissioners had finished for the day, but Richard had seen them afterwards and when Merry returned the matter had been settled.¹²⁵ The actual grant was dated 11 July, 1614, but the manor was not then conveyed to Sir Roger and it was still in Sir John's possession when he died;¹²⁶ the conveyance was made by his son and heir Sir Richard, who had originally seen the deal through, in December, 1631.

The acquisition of Mostyn and the outright purchase of the Gloddaith tithes show a certain determination on the part of Sir Roger to gain possession of everything connected with his estate, which suggests that he was one of the most enterprising members of the family. One thing he was unable to obtain was the sinecure rectory and consequently the tithes of Whitford itself; his grandfather William Mostyn had farmed the rectory in 1570 and 1571 but by the early seventeenth century it had come into the possession of Sir Dudley Norton of Nantwich in Cheshire and his wife Margaret.¹²⁷ In 1621 the Nortons leased the rectory to Sir Roger's second son John for a fine of £140 and a peppercorn rent.¹²⁸ Among the Mostyn papers there is a bundle of letters written between 1619 and 1631, mainly from the Nortons to Sir Roger relating to the lease.¹²⁹ The correspondence is friendly in tone and deals in part with renewals of the lease, as in July, 1623, when Lady Norton told Sir Roger that the £90 he had

123. N.L.W. 9055/661.

124. N.L.W. 9055/665; unfortunately young Sir John never read this letter since he had died at Lucca before it reached him.

125. If the rent of the 1584 lease (£7) was taken as a basis, Mostyn would appear to have cost Sir John £371.

126. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 181-2.

127. H.M.C. Reports LXXVII, De Lisle I, p. 358.

128. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3140.

129. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3138.

offered was not enough but that she would overlook this because of his kindness to her; at the same time she asked him for the loan of £40. She asked for loans on several other occasions, which suggests that Sir Roger may have drawn part of his income from lending money.¹³⁰ The Norton correspondence also includes requests from Sir Roger from time to time for abatements in the farm on account of falling prices and these seem generally to have been allowed.¹³¹ In July, 1630, Lady Norton wrote rather petulantly to tell Sir Roger that many felt he was making a hard bargain with her because her cousin Wilbraham had a rectory near Whitford 'much wourse than myne' for which he was drawing an annual rent of £100, but there seems to have been no difficulty about renewing the lease which was granted to John Mostyn each time. After the Restoration there was a long dispute which arose from the attempt of Sir Roger's grandson to obtain a lease of the sinecure rectory.¹³²

Another indication of Sir Roger's prosperity is the work which he had done on Mostyn itself. Unfortunately no adequate architectural account of the house exists and there is nothing among the family papers; however, Pennant gives a few details.¹³³ The last owner to make any additions had been William Mostyn in 1570 but Sir Roger rebuilt the porch in 1623 and had the arms of the component families carved on it. In 1631 he carried out substantial alterations, building a square block which included six bedrooms with an eating room or parlour and a dining or drawing room above; the fireplace in the parlour was again surrounded by coats of arms and it is dated 1632. The nucleus of the house was the medieval

130. The practice was not uncommon among contemporary landowners; another example may be the transaction in 1612 whereby Piers ap Hugh of Bryngweioig mortgaged a close in Hendrefigillt to Sir Roger for 50s. (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2430 (i)). The quitclaim, dated 1 December, 1614, gives the consideration as 56s.; the difference, perhaps, being the interest on the loan (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2430 (ii)).

131. Other letters relate to the liability for various charges on the rectory, such as the levy of 3s. 10d. in the pound imposed on all livings in 1622 'for the regaining of the Palatine'.

132. Thomas Richards, 'The Whitford leases - a battle of wits' in Trans. Cymm., 1924-5, pp. 1-76; the dispute over the lease of 1633 in which Sir Roger himself was involved is discussed briefly in Chapter VIII.

133. T. Pennant, History of Whiteford and Holywell, pp. 59-60.

hall and the construction of a parlour block to extend it was not uncommon;¹³⁴ it reflected the changes which had come over the way of life of the gentry and perhaps carried the work begun by William half a century earlier to its logical conclusion.

Roger Mostyn married Mary, the daughter of John Wynn of Gwydir. This marriage was an alliance of two of the greatest families in North Wales which makes the lack of any settlement or of any information about its background doubly frustrating, especially in view of the bad relations of Sir Thomas Mostyn and the bride's father. The wedding took place at Gwydir on 2 August, 1596, and was undoubtedly a major event. Both families were famous patrons and no less than ten poets attended the wedding and celebrated it.¹³⁵ Siôn Tudur commented on the existing relationship of bride and groom which stemmed from their common Penrhyn descent, Simwnt Fychan referred to the welcome he had always had at Mostyn, and Siôn Philip mentioned the Mostyn family's special relationship with the bardic order.¹³⁶ But it was John Wynn, the father of the bride, who was the giver of the feast and consequently it was to Gwydir rather than to Mostyn that the poets addressed most of their praise.

The only surviving reference to the marriage negotiations is in a letter from Roger to John Wynn written early in 1596 which relates to a forthcoming meeting at Ruthin to discuss the match and in which he sent his greetings to 'cosin Mary'.¹³⁷ The marriage itself seems to have been highly successful. It has been suggested that Roger soon came under the influence of his father-in-law, even taking his part against his own father, but this was not the case.¹³⁸

134. Peter Smith, 'Rural housing in Wales' in Agrarian History, IV, p. 802. There is a drawing of the house as it appeared in 1684 in T. Dineley, The Account of the Official Progress of his Grace Henry, the first Duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684 (ed. R. W. Banks, 1888), p. 94.

135. The poets were Richard Philip, Edward ap Ralph, Siôn Philip, Huw Machno, Siôn Mawddwy, Gruffydd Hafren, Simwnt Fychan, Owain Gwynedd, Huw Pennant, and Siôn Tudur (R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru, IX, 1-2 (1966), pp. 90-1). The possible significance of the poetry is discussed in Chapter X.

136. U.C.N.W. Bangor 11668, no. XIV; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, ff. 22a, 13b.

137. N.L.W. 465/381.

138. E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1625' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1936), pp. 17-8.

Admittedly, the link benefited both parties, helping Roger and aiding the eventual advancement of his sons and giving Sir John a foothold in Creuddyn but the surviving letters show Roger Mostyn to have been a person of strong character and undoubtedly his own man. He never hesitated to speak his mind; in February, 1607, for example, he drew attention to the way in which William Vaughan, a cousin of his, was being hindered by Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni in his attempt to build a new mill in Llysfaen.¹³⁹ Wynn was asked to make known his goodwill towards him, not only for the cause but also for the sake of his own reputation. He advised him to stand no nonsense from Salusbury and returned to the attack in another letter three days later, accusing his father-in-law of not looking after his interests in Llysfaen and letting Salusbury in by default.¹⁴⁰

These letters show Sir Roger as very much the candid friend of Sir John Wynn and he was to rebuke him on another occasion, in 1616 when the baronet was in London seeking help in high places after his conviction at Ludlow over the Dolwyddelan and Llysfaen affairs;¹⁴¹ he blamed him for staying in the capital while his enemies in North Wales were spreading rumours that he was in a most loathsome prison. And Sir John seems to have had great respect for his son-in-law's judgement; in March, 1615, he wrote to him to ask his advice in a family problem.¹⁴² His other son-in-law, Sir John Bodvel, wished to take his pregnant wife who was then at Gwydir home and her father was in some doubt as to whether he should let her cohabit with her husband since he had had an aunt killed by William Williams of Cochwillan in the same way.¹⁴³ His request is revealing:

I pray you advise me what course to take in this busyness for I rely more on you than upon any other man

He sought his help in other ways too. His dispute with Bishop Morgan of St. Asaph is well-known and in a letter to him dated 16 February, 1604, his son-in-law

139. N.L.W. 9053/435.

140. N.L.W. 9053/436. The Llysfaen case is discussed in 'The Wynn family and estate', pp. 160-2; see also T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, ed., Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales in tempore James I, pp. 57-9.

141. N.L.W. 9055/746.

142. N.L.W. 9055/685.

143. William Williams's first wife was Agnes, sister of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir and therefore aunt to Sir John (C.W.P. 50, n. 1).

reported that he had visited the bishop to speak on his behalf but without much success;¹⁴⁴ he pointed out that since he had married into the Gwydir family he expected greater kindness at his hands and warned him that he would lose all his friends by being so strait-laced, but to no avail.

A number of other letters to and from Sir Roger among the Gwydir correspondence deal with various topics which are considered in detail in the later chapters of this study. The general impression is of a close and friendly relationship between the two men, although there may have been a temporary estrangement after the Caernarvonshire election of 1620 in which Sir John's son Sir Richard was defeated by John Griffith of Cefnamwlch and in which Sir Roger may have supported the latter; he certainly did not throw his weight behind the Gwydir interest.¹⁴⁵ But relations were soon back to normal and remained close until Sir John's death in 1627; in his will he left his son-in-law his piebald horse.¹⁴⁶ The letters also reveal something of Sir Roger himself; although he seems rarely to have left North Wales he was particularly well-informed about the affairs of the day and frequently passed his information on.¹⁴⁷ He felt very strongly that the place of a landowner was on his estates; in the election of 1624 his eldest son Thomas wished to stand for Flintshire and in a letter to Sir John dated 5 January Sir Roger expressed his opposition to the scheme.¹⁴⁸ Thomas would be drawn to live in London and his wife in the country, the implication being that the heir should stay at home, although he had no objection to his second son John standing for parliament. The pull of London and the court seems still to have had no effect on the head of the Mostyn family and Sir Roger's attitude is reminiscent of that attributed to Richard ap Hywel after Bosworth. It was a rather old-fashioned view by this time when the capital was becoming

144. N.L.W. 9052/269. The whole dispute is discussed by J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Bishop William Morgan's dispute with John Wynn of Gwydir' in Jnl. Hist. Soc. Church in Wales, XXII (1972), pp. 49-78, and the letter printed in full, pp. 69-70.

145. N.L.W. 9057/930, 942, 1000; politics are discussed in Chapter VII of this study.

146. C.W.P. 1318.

147. Subsequent generations continued to be well-informed, as witness the remarkable collection of late seventeenth-century newsletters among the Mostyn archives (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 9088-97).

148. N.L.W. 9059/1186; the letter is reproduced in Appendix E(8).

increasingly attractive to the county gentry.¹⁴⁹ Sir Roger could also show a delicacy of feeling in his dealings with his father-in-law; when Sir John's son Ellis died at Heywood in Lancashire in 1619 his body was brought to Mostyn and buried at Whitford to spare his father's feelings.¹⁵⁰ Once, at least, he was able to do the older man a great service. In a letter dated 13 August but for which no year is given in the Calendar he told Sir John that he might use the house at Gloddaith whenever he wished and that he could also have the use of £1,000 that Sir James Whitelock was to pay Sir Roger at Shrewsbury later in the month;¹⁵¹ this almost certainly dates the letter to 1623 as Sir John was at Gloddaith in August and September of that year and it was in the same year that Thomas Mostyn married Elizabeth Whitelock, the money presumably being part of her portion.¹⁵² The only other reference to this episode is in another undated letter to Sir John from his son Owen in which he said that Sir Roger had done the baronet extraordinary kindness by a loan of money at a very necessitous time and by putting his house at his disposal for a year in time of sickness;¹⁵³ he added that this was no time to lose friends of whom they had few enough as it was.

Thus the marriage of Roger Mostyn and Mary Wynn led to a close relationship between the two houses and the Wynn letters go some way towards compensating for the lack of Mostyn correspondence before the Restoration. It may have been Mary's portion that helped Roger buy the lands which gave him an independent power base before his father's death and it may in part have been due to the influence of his father-in-law that he was knighted on 23 May, 1606.¹⁵⁴ This was the result

149. F. J. Fisher, 'The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, II (1962), pp. 198, 199, 201. As early as 1605 Sir John Wynn declared his intention of spending the winter and spring in London in future, though he was not to do so (C.W.P. 388). The capital's lack of attraction for many country gentlemen is also mentioned in T. G. Barnes, Somerset, 1625-1640, p. 28.

150. C.W.P. 884.

151. C.W.P. 1462.

152. C.W.P. 1131.

153. C.W.P. 1473. For the probable circumstances of this loan see C.W.P. 1075, a note by Sir John dated 23 March, 1623, for Lord Keeper Williams in which he set out his financial and agricultural problems, also F. Emery, 'The farming regions of Wales' in Agrarian History, IV, pp. 141-2.

154. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 113; Sir John had been knighted nine days previously.

of a change in policy under James I whereby eldest sons might be knighted while their fathers were still living. Elizabeth had been as parsimonious with knighthoods as she had been with peerages and this had caused a good deal of ill-feeling among the wealthy gentry who must have felt that there was no social promotion open to them¹⁵⁵ But by the end of 1604 James had dubbed nearly 1,200 new knights although he may have gone too far when he ordered all worth £40 a year to take up knighthood. Sir John's eldest son was also knighted in his father's lifetime.

Sir Roger held the usual public offices.¹⁵⁶ He was sheriff of Flintshire in 1608-9.¹⁵⁷ He only sat in one parliament, representing the county of Flint in that of 1620-1 but he seems to have taken an active and informed interest in politics.¹⁵⁸ It was not difficult for a country gentleman to keep in touch with what was going on; many younger sons found their way to London and once there they often kept a benevolent eye on the interests of their fathers and elder brothers and also supplied them with the latest news and gossip. Both Sir Roger and Sir John Wynn had sons in the capital and Sir John also employed an agent there to look after his affairs. But the key to local power lay in the offices of justice of the peace and deputy lieutenant. Sir Roger's name appeared in the Flintshire Commission of the Peace for the first time in 1594 and he was in it continuously from 1601 until his death;¹⁵⁹ he was a justice for Caernarvonshire by 1620.¹⁶⁰ He became a member of the Council in the Marches in 1617, a few months before his father died, and he was reappointed in 1623.¹⁶¹ He eventually became custos rotulorum of Flintshire and he was also an active deputy lieutenant; a number of letters bear witness to his activities in local government. His position in the county meant that other duties also came his way;

155. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, p. 41.

156. Office, politics and public life in general are discussed in Chapter VII.

157. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 254; the Roger Mostyn who was sheriff of Anglesey in 1589-90 was a kinsman, probably his great-uncle.

158. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. iii (Appendix).

159. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, pp. 74, 76.

160. E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1625', p. 198.

161. H.M.C. Reports, XIII, Appendix IV, pp. 254, 270.

in 1632 he was one of the three commissioners responsible for collecting the fines from those in Flintshire who had not attended the coronation of Charles I or taken up knighthood then.¹⁶² In 1616 he and Sir Peter Mutton were responsible for receiving the names of recusants presented to them by incumbents and churchwardens and in January, 1622, Sir Richard Wynn informed his father that commissioners had been appointed for Ireland and that Sir Roger would have been among them, were it not that the Lord Keeper (John Williams) had thought that the appointment would not have been to his liking.¹⁶³ According to the family history he served in Ireland under Essex in 1599 but there is no evidence to corroborate this.¹⁶⁴

Like most of his contemporaries Sir Roger was involved in litigation from time to time.¹⁶⁵ Much of it arose from the affairs of Robert Wynn of Conway, uncle of Sir John and builder of Plas Mawr; in 1611 Robert Wynn's children brought an action against him in the Court of Requests and he brought two Chancery actions, one against Wynn's widow Dorothy and her new husband Sir William Williams of Vaynol in late 1622 or early 1623 and the other against Sir Thomas Williams, William's son, and Robert Wynn's children in 1627.¹⁶⁶ In 1611 he was sued in Chancery by Robert Wynn's son John over documents relating to Robert's lease of Dolwyddelan.¹⁶⁷ In his capacity as a trustee of Robert Wynn's estate he was also one of the defendants in an Exchequer action initiated by Sir John in 1610 which was part of the long and complex struggle over Dolwyddelan in which the baronet was involved.¹⁶⁸ Other cases involved property in Flintshire; in one undated Chancery action he sued one John ap William ap John over property in Whitford and in 1633 a case was brought against him in the same court by Hugh and Henry Roberts relating to a crown lease of lead-mining rights at Mostyn.¹⁶⁹ In 1634 Sir Roger proceeded against Dr. William Griffith,

162. G. A. Usher, *Gwysaney and Owston*, p. 33.

163. E. Gwynne Jones, 'Catholic recusancy in the counties of Denbigh, Flint and Montgomery' in *Trans. Cymm.*, 1945, p. 132; *C.W.P.* 1002.

164. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 113.

165. This is discussed in detail in Chapter VIII.

166. P.R.O. Reg. 2/399/84; C3/366/26; C8/61/19.

167. P.R.O. C2/James I/WB/15.

168. T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

169. P.R.O. C3/409/182; C3/413/79.

chancellor of the diocese of Bangor and St. Asaph and lessee of the rectory of Whitford in the Court of Common Pleas in an action of debt.¹⁷⁰ There are also two cases to which Sir Roger's eldest son Thomas was a party. One, in 1629, was brought against him by Sir Thomas Myddleton before the Council at Ludlow and related to land in Pengwern and Llangollen Fechan claimed as part of the waste of the lordship of Chirkland and the other was brought by Sir Thomas Mostyn in Chancery in 1636 against John Jones of Llys relating to the purchase of the reversion of a tenement in Sychtyn.¹⁷¹ The Pengwern action suggests that Sir Roger had by this time conveyed this estate to his heir.

Sir Roger flourished at a time when the classical Welsh poetic tradition was in decline although he was not the last of his line to be praised by the bards. Apart from the remarkable body of poetry which celebrated his marriage to Mary Wynn and which was composed under the auspices of Gwydir rather than of Mostyn, there are only three poems to him, all by Siôn Cain. Two of them are cywyddau moliant and the third is a cywydd marwnad. The first is dated 1628 and praises him in the usual forms;¹⁷² the contents of the second are much the same.¹⁷³ In the first the poet refers to him as a justice of the peace and he returns to the theme in his elegy;¹⁷⁴ the latter also includes a reference to the recent death of his eldest son. This is all the poetry addressed to him; it has little to offer as a historical source but it does show that the family tradition of patronage was not yet dead.

Sir Roger and Lady Mostyn had eight children, six sons, Thomas, John, William, Richard, Robert, and Roger, and two daughters, Sidney and Katherine.¹⁷⁵ Thomas, the eldest, was born about 1598. On 4 May, 1619, he was admitted a

170. N.L.W. Carreglwyd I, 530, 1832.

171. N.L.W. Chirk Castle 11263 (record of bill, answer and depositions); P.R.O. C2/Charles I/M41/34.

172. N.L.W. Peniarth 116, p. 97.

173. N.L.W. Peniarth 117, p. 211.

174. N.L.W. Peniarth 116, p. 797.

175. They are listed in his will (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3737) so any who died in infancy are not included. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 129-30, list the children as Thomas, John, William, Richard, Roger, Foulk, Rowland, Edward, William (II), Robert, Roger (II), Piers, and Sidney but this list seems to be confused with that of the children of Thomas Mostyn who died in 1558. Among the children sent to school at Hawarden in 1614 was Edward Mostyn who may have been a son who died young (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478).

fellow-commoner of Queens' College, Cambridge, and a year later he entered Lincoln's Inn.¹⁷⁶ He became a justice of the peace for Flintshire in 1623 and remained in the commission until his death.¹⁷⁷ He was knighted at Theobalds in November, 1623; the knighthood was obtained through Sir Richard Wynn who had used his influence with Buckingham.¹⁷⁸ In the same year he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Whitelock, Chief Justice of Chester; his father had been seeking a suitable match for him for several years. He was suggested as a possible candidate for Flintshire in the election of 1624 and he seems also to have been interested in standing for the county for the first parliament of Charles I but nothing came of either bid.¹⁷⁹ In 1639 he was chosen as sheriff of Flintshire but was excused service, which may suggest that he was already in failing health.¹⁸⁰ There are various references to him in the Wynn correspondence in a letter to his father dated 31 March, 1624, for example, Owen Wynn remarked that Tom Mostyn, when drunk, had complained that his mother-in-law Lady Whitelock undervalued all their kindred and said there was scarce meat enough in Wales to put in their mouths.¹⁸¹ He never inherited the estate; he predeceased his father, dying on 12 November, 1641, and he was buried at Whitford six days later.¹⁸² He had two sons, Roger and Thomas; Roger inherited the estate from his grandfather, played an active part in the Civil War and obtained a baronetcy at the Restoration.

The second son John matriculated a pensioner at Queens' College, Cambridge, at Easter, 1619, and was a fellow-commoner in the college.¹⁸³ His chosen profession was the law; he attached himself to John Williams and did well in his service. When Williams became Lord Keeper after the fall of Francis Bacon in 1621 William Wynn reported to his father that he and John Mostyn had been promised

176. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, I, iii, p. 22.

177. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, p. 80.

178. C.W.P. 1165.

179. N.L.W. 9059/1177, 1185-7; N.L.W. Davies of Gwysaney 20.

180. C.W.P. 1655.

181. C.W.P. 1206.

182. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 133; the funeral certificate is printed there.

183. Venn, Op. cit., p. 221.

good places and they do seem to have been close to the bishop since in the same year Owen Wynn remarked that he treated them as though they were his own children.¹⁸⁴ John remained with Williams after his dismissal as Lord Keeper in 1625.¹⁸⁵ In 1624 he represented Anglesey in parliament and some time between 1625 and 1640 he petitioned Williams's successor Lord Coventry for an appointment 'in the Office of post mortems';¹⁸⁶ he was granted the office of collector of tenths in 1638.¹⁸⁷ He was again elected to parliament, this time for Flintshire, in March, 1640; the following October he was re-elected to the Long Parliament.¹⁸⁸ He attended the Oxford parliament early in 1643 and was subsequently expelled from the Commons and his papers and goods in his chambers in the Inner Temple seized.¹⁸⁹ He joined the royal army, serving in the garrisons of Beaumaris and Flint, and he compounded with parliament for his estates in 1647. After this he retired to Maesmynan in Dyffryn Clwyd, which had been bought for him by his father, and there he died unmarried in 1675.¹⁹⁰ His father made considerable provision for him; in addition to Maesmynan the Nantbychan and Tregarnedd lands were settled on him in 1642 and he had also had the lease of the Whitford tithes.¹⁹¹

The third son William was a cleric. He matriculated at Queens' College, Cambridge, at Easter, 1620; he proceeded B.A. in 1624 and M.A. at St. John's in 1627.¹⁹² In 1625 he became a fellow of St. John's and in September of that year his father informed his grandfather that Mr. Barnet, 'ancient' to him, had died of the plague then raging in London and that he was now senior fellow of the college as a result.¹⁹³ In 1633 he was appointed archdeacon of Bangor; the

184. C.W.P. 962, 983.

185. C.W.P. 1382.

186. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 135.

187. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 140.

188. Return of Members of Parliament, I, pp. 484, 498; his parliamentary activities are discussed in Chapter VII.

189. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 196; Norman Tucker, 'The final sieges of Flint' in Jnl. Flints. Hist. Soc., XXIV, (1969-70), p. 54.

190. Ibid., pp. 196-7. But in a letter to his grand-nephew Thomas Mostyn of Gloddaith in 1675 he conveyed his wife's good wishes (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 9066/34).

191. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 728.

192. Venn, Op. cit., p. 221.

193. C.W.P. 1373; 'ancient' in this context means senior fellow.

following year his father presented him to Christleton and in 1639 he became vicar of Whitford. His first wife was Elizabeth Aldersey of Chester, whom he married in 1637;¹⁹⁴ Elizabeth died in 1647 and William subsequently married Anne, daughter of John Lewis of Chwaen Wen in Anglesey.¹⁹⁵ In 1623 the then parson of Christleton had leased the tithes there to him at an annual rent of £20;¹⁹⁶ this may have helped his maintenance at Cambridge and the fellowship of St. John's suggests the influence and interest of John Williams. In May, 1641, Maurice Wynn informed his brother Owen that a bill had been read in parliament to fine all those clergy who had taken part in the recent meeting of Convocation and that under its terms Archdeacon Mostyn and others of his rank would be fined £300.¹⁹⁷ He died in 1669; from him was descended the family of Mostyn of Segrwyd and his great-grandson married the daughter of Henry Thrale, the patron of Dr. Johnson.¹⁹⁸

Richard Mostyn chose a military career. Like so many of his contemporaries he began in the service of a prominent man, in this case probably Sir Francis Cottington, though he also owed something to the influence of Sir Richard Wynn. With his master he went to Madrid in 1623 in the suite of the prince of Wales on the occasion of the famous visit of Charles and Buckingham to the Spanish court;¹⁹⁹ Sir Richard Wynn was also in the party and on 28 May Owen Wynn told his father that Sir Richard had arrived back safely with a marked distaste for Spanish cooking but that Dick Mostyn had stayed behind with his master who would be returning with the prince.²⁰⁰ The next reference to him is in November, 1624,

194. On 12 May, 1637, his brother Sir Thomas agreed to settle the jointure of his own lands on her and in return William covenanted to convey certain lands settled on him by his father to Thomas (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 139).

195. N.L.W. Bodewryd 158; there are a number of references to William in this collection. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 130, describe her as the daughter of John Lewis of Bodowen, Woodhouse and Bryngwyn.

196. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4323.

197. C.W.P. 1684.

198. Venn gives the date of his death as c 1669-70 and Mostyn and Glenn give 1670-1 but the archdeaconry of Bangor became vacant in 1669 when it was annexed to the bishopric (M. L. Clarke, Bangor Cathedral, pp. 45, 110); R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru, IX, p. 110.

199. Gildas Tibbott, 'Welshmen with Prince Charles in Spain' in N.L.W. Journal, I (1939-40), pp. 91-4.

200. C.W.P. 1108.

when Owen told Sir John that Dick Mostyn would be chosen as one of the captains for a forthcoming expedition to Ireland and hoped that he could get some idle young fellows to serve under him as volunteers.²⁰¹ A week later William Wynn informed his father that Richard had been made captain of a company under Mansfeld who had been given permission by the king to recruit 12,000 men for service in Germany at British expense.²⁰² By the following January he had returned from the Low Countries suffering from a fever but he soon recovered and later that year he was expecting a commission as a land captain with the fleet to be prepared for service against Spain.²⁰³ In 1626 he was in Ireland; on 8 March his father told Sir John Wynn that he was quartered at Kinsale and that he was so poor that he had had to pawn his trunks and seek a loan of £10 from Lady Angiers.²⁰⁴ The following August £10 was paid him at Youghal.²⁰⁵ A military career was always a gamble and for Richard Mostyn it was one which did not pay off. On 9 November, 1627, his brother John was granted the administration of his goods and chattels since he had died beyond the seas;²⁰⁶ according to the family history he died at La Rochelle of a wound received in the attack on the Ile de Rhé in 1627.²⁰⁷

Robert Mostyn married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Henry Conway of Nant in Flintshire for whose wardship his father had made composition in the Court of Wards in 1626;²⁰⁸ he died in 1667.²⁰⁹ Roger, the youngest son, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Pugh, and lived at Dolycorslwyn in

201. C.W.P. 1259.

202. C.W.P. 1265; C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years War (1957), p. 168. A number of younger sons from North Wales did serve in the Thirty Years War (G. A. Usher, Gwysaney and Owston, p. 34; Norman Tucker, 'Volunteers in the Thirty Years War' in N.L.W. Journal, XVI (1969-70), pp. 61-76; C.W.P. 1266).

203. C.W.P. 1282-3, 1356; Sir John's old servant Robin Price was his lieutenant and a son of Peter Pennant his 'ancient' (ensign). The Spanish campaign was probably the ill-fated Cadiz expedition (G. M. Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts (1960), p. 128).

204. C.W.P. 1394; Lady Angiers was the widow of the younger Sir John Wynn who had since remarried.

205. Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1625-1632, pp. 145-6; he was captain of a fleet company.

206. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 137.

207. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 130.

208. *Ibid.*, C.W.P. 1391, 1411.

209. N.L.W. St. Asaph wills (inventory dated 28 January, 1668); I owe this reference to Professor J. Gwynn Williams.

Montgomeryshire.²¹⁰ Of the daughters Sidney married Richard Grosvenor and Katherine Richard Bulkeley;²¹¹ both Roger and Sidney died in 1675.²¹² In his letters Sir Roger mentioned the children from time to time; he showed a great deal of concern for the education of his sons and over the marriage of his heir.²¹³ In a letter written on Christmas Day, 1608, he referred to his wife's pregnancy and asked Sir John to remind Lady Wynn to send the midwife in plenty of time and in another letter to his father-in-law, probably written in June, 1610, he poured scorn on the diagnostic skill of Thomas Wiliems, the Trefriw doctor, better known as a lexicographer, who, he said, had failed to diagnose his wife's first pregnancy.²¹⁴ In the same letter he advised on the care of his sister-in-law Elizabeth Bodvel who was pregnant at the time, giving a long description of the symptoms and adding that his wife suffered in the same way. On 20 February, 1616, he reported from Plas Uchaf that little Sidney was learning her primer and that Thomas was growing up and becoming more sensible.²¹⁵

In a society in which the descent of the estate followed the rule of primogeniture the problem of the younger son was a serious one and the careers of the younger sons of Sir Roger Mostyn show some of the ways in which it was solved.²¹⁶ The law, the church, and the German wars were three avenues of advancement and they were followed by John, William, and Richard;²¹⁷ there was also trade and marriage to heiresses. Maurice Wynn of Gwydir spent many years as a merchant in Hamburg and Robert and Roger Mostyn seem to have married profitably. Other sons managed to prosper at court or by holding office or by serving great men as did John Mostyn. Sir Roger was always concerned for his sons and his will shows that he had prepared an inheritance for each one to add to what

210. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 130.

211. Clwyd R.O., D/M/3737.

212. R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru IX, p. 105, citing Morys Parry's cywydd marwnad to John Mostyn.

213. Education and marriage are discussed in Chapter IX below.

214. N.L.W. 465/491; N.L.W. 9054/580.

215. N.L.W. 9054/746.

216. The problem is discussed by Joan Thirsk, 'Younger sons in the seventeenth century', in History, LIV (1969), pp. 358-77; see also M. E. Finch, The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, pp. 56-7.

217. G. M. Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p. 17.

they might manage to get by their own efforts. Soon after he inherited the estate he told his father-in-law that he intended to provide for each of them and not to 'carry any thinge' with him.²¹⁸ The Mostyns also made use of the various smaller estates to provide for younger sons and widows instead of leasing them out as did so many of their contemporaries. This evidence may suggest that in Wales, where the custom of partible inheritance survived until 1543, even if it was not always followed, the younger son had a better deal; Sir Roger's brother Thomas had been given the Rhyd estate by his father and Richard ap Hywel had provided for his younger son Piers during his own lifetime.

Sir Roger Mostyn died on 18 August, 1642. According to Peter Roberts he was 82;²¹⁹ there must, however, be some doubt about his age although 82 poor men did walk in his funeral procession. He was buried at Whitford with great pomp, his kinsmen all attending the service.²²⁰ He had made his will on 3 November, 1640;²²¹ his wife was to have her clothes, rings and jewels, the gilt bowl given him by Sir John Wynn, with a gilt basin and ewer, and his coach with its furnishings and horses. All this was in addition to the half-share of his goods to which she was entitled by the custom of North Wales. His son Sir Thomas was to have the great basin and ewer which he had found at Mostyn as well as several other pieces of plate; he was also left the bedsteads, tables, forms and brewing vessels belonging to the larder and brewhouse at Mostyn and the furniture of the best chamber there, his two great horses with all their furnishings and all his arms. To John he left £100 and the Tregarnedd and Nantbychan lands for life;²²² he and his heirs were also to enjoy the lands bought by Sir Roger in his name in the lordship of Ruthin which became the Maesmynan estate. Lands bought in Tremeirchion had been intended for and conveyed to Richard but since he had died without heirs John was to have them.²²³ William was left £100 and he and his

218. N.L.W. 9056/850.

219. *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd*, p. 204.

220. The funeral certificate is printed in Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 127-8.

221. Clwyd R.O., D/M/3737; the will is reproduced in Appendix E (6).

222. These had already been granted to him (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 728).

223. These lands had been bought from Hugh Peake, John ap Harry Meredith and others the deeds are not among the family papers but U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2779 is a conveyance of land in Tremeirchion to Sir Roger.

wife were to have the Tregwehelyth lands for life. Lands in Trelawnyd, Llanasa, and Cwm had been bought from several named individuals and given to Robert and these were now left to him and his heirs while lands in Llangollen, Diserth, and Caerfallwch which had been given to Roger were now left to him to avoid argument.²²⁴ The lease of the Gloddaith tithes was left to Sir Thomas and the reversion, bought by Sir Roger from Lewis Owen, to his wife who was also to have lands in Creuddyn for life.²²⁵ £10 was left to the poor of Whitford and a similar sum towards the repair of the parish church; £6. 13s. 4d. was set aside for each of these causes in Eglwys Rhos. Each of the resident servants at Mostyn and Gloddaith was left a year's wages. Both daughters and their husbands received £50 to buy plate and Margaret Mostyn, the wife of Robert, was left six of the best draught oxen on the Mostyn demesnes. His brothers-in-law Sir Richard Wynn and William Wynn and his cousin Sir Thomas Powell each had £20 to buy rings; his sister Lady Hanmer was left 22s. to make a ring as were his brothers-in-law Owen, Maurice, and Henry Wynn. It may be significant that nothing was left to his brother Thomas. An annuity of £10 out of Cefn-coch was left to his servant John Foulkes and Roger, who was still under age, was left the Trecastell lands out on lease to Humphrey Jones, Rowland White, and Margaret Barlow for life along with £100. The second half of his household goods was to be divided equally among his younger sons. His executors were his wife, his son John, his son-in-law Richard Grosvenor, and his brother-in-law Maurice Wynn. In a codicil dated 12 January, 1642, and signed in a very shaky hand the legacies intended for Sir Thomas, who was now dead, were transferred to his grandson Roger. His cousin Mary Lloyd was left £20 and John Foulkes's legacy was charged on all the Anglesey lands.

224. The Llangollen lands were those bought from John Mathew who in 1624 conveyed lands there to Sir Roger (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1700).

225. These lands had been bought from William Kyffin and Foulk ap Thomas; the deeds are U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1047, 1112, 1129, 1146, and N.L.W. Thorne 93, between 1620 and 1623.

This interesting and detailed will shows Sir Roger's response to the problem of younger sons. Of the man himself more is revealed in the sources than of any of his predecessors and on the whole the picture is a sympathetic one. No hostile judgements have been found although it must be remembered that there is no other contemporary collection of letters as full and as revealing as the Gwydir correspondence. There does not seem to have been much litigation against him although, like most of his contemporaries, he was involved in some long-drawn-out disputes. He was generally respected throughout North Wales and his judgement was often sought.²²⁶ Nor was he without influence; in a case involving Sir John Wynn about 1603 he reported that he had asked the under-sheriff of Denbighshire to take special care in selecting the jurors, to which the under-sheriff replied 'that he was prepared to performe the office of a ffrind in that which laye in him'.²²⁷ But Sir Roger does not come to life in the way that his father-in-law does. Neither for him, nor for any other members of the family before the Restoration, is there any of that information about purchases in London, about journeys, or about food and drink that so often add to our knowledge and understanding of the Welsh gentry. There is nothing to indicate his intellectual interests, which books he added to the Mostyn library, or whether, like his father-in-law, he took any active interest in the patronage of Welsh culture.²²⁸ Even his prejudices are unknown to us, as is the nature of his amusements, although there is one reference to gambling; on 23 February, 1618, just after his father's death, he told Sir John that he had recovered reasonably well from a bad game of backgammon.²²⁹ We do know that he suffered from the

226. In April, 1605, for example, his wife's uncle Ellis Wynn asked him to arbitrate in a dispute between Sir John and his cousin Roderick Powell over land held by the latter (C.W.P. 344).

227. N.L.W. 9053/389. This was a common practice; if a friend was involved in litigation enough freeholders would be sent to the court to ensure their selection. For a similar case see N.L.W. 9053/482; Sir John Wynn was asked to send freeholders to the assizes at Caernarvon for a suit of dower between Sir William Glynne of Glynllifon and Mrs. Bulkeley. Glynne had asked Sir Roger and his father for their support (2 August, 1808).

228. For the cultural interests of the Gwydir family see J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Diddordebau diwylliannol Wyniaid Gwedir' in Llên Cymru, XI (1970), pp. 95-124.

229. N.L.W. 9056/822, printed in full in Mostyn & Glenn, p. 123.

stone;²³⁰ one of the Mostyn account books contains a collection of remedies which include no less than eleven for that complaint, many of them recommended by neighbours, along with prescriptions for worms, gout, wind, and palsy.²³¹ There is a likeness of him; a portrait attributed to Mytens and to the year 1634 is at Mostyn along with one of his wife.²³² They are described by Pennant, none too politely;²³³ of Sir Roger he says:

... round the waistband of his great breeches is a girdle stuck with points. This piece of magnificence gave rise to a very coarse proverb, applicable to inferior people ambitious of acting beyond their station

His comment on Lady Mostyn is in similar tone:

Her shape is contrived to have some degree of elegance, notwithstanding she seems to have been a large woman

Ungallant though it may be, it is difficult to disagree with his judgement.

230. N.L.W. 466/687:

'I have been payned with my old desease the stone that no day I was I free from a fitt till this after noone that I vented the gretest stone that ever I parted with'

(23 March, 1615).

231. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478; they have been published by A. D. Carr, 'Some seventeenth-century remedies' in Jnl. Flints. Hist. Soc., XXIV (1969-70), pp. 56-61.

232. Mostyn & Glenn, facing pp. 112, 128; there is another portrait on her memorial brass in the Wynn Chapel in Llanrwst church.

233. T. Pennant, History of Whiteford and Holywell, pp. 60-1.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MOSTYN ESTATE

THE MOSTYN ESTATE

This chapter is intended as an examination of the management of the Mostyn estate, in particular in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a period of rapid change and development in estate management and of a steady upward movement in rents. Such an examination poses many problems, the greatest of which is the scarcity of material. To examine the management of an estate in detail we need a variety of sources; these should include rentals, valuations, surveys, leases, and estate accounts which can all be analysed and compared, not only with each other, but also with similar documents from other estates. The Mostyn archives are rich, particularly in medieval deeds, but they are patchy. Few leases have survived and no lease registers. There are some rentals and valuations from 1576 onwards but they do not all cover the entire estate and they are not all dated although an approximate dating can often be obtained from internal evidence. And there are no account books; the lack of household accounts for the period under investigation is bad enough but the absence of estate accounts makes the situation even more difficult. This chapter must therefore depend to a large extent on a few documents, in particular a rental drawn up on the death of William Mostyn in 1576, a rental and valuation compiled about 1600, surveys and valuations made after the death of Sir Thomas Mostyn in 1618, and a rental and valuation of about 1619.¹ There are also a few leases and a number of notes, brief accounts, and summary lists of stock. Indeed, the amount of available evidence is such that any suggestions or conclusions in the following pages must of necessity be tentative.

The Mostyn estate was the result of the gradual coalescence of five family groups described by genealogists as the Five Courts. These were Pengwern in Nanheudwy, Trecastell and Tregarnedd in Anglesey, Mostyn in Tegeingl, and Gloddaith

1. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 87b-91a (1576); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5484 (c 1600); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6477 (survey of Gloddaith estate, 1618); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478 (survey of Mostyn, Whitford, Pengwern, and Anglesey estates, 1618); U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486 (c 1619). A summary valuation and rental of the estate, c 1619, (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6056) is reproduced in Appendix E (7) below.

in Creuddyn. The original Pengwern properties lay in and around Llangollen which was, after the Edwardian conquest, in the lordship of Chirk, and in Maelor Saesneg; the latter probably passed out of the possession of the line from which the Mostyns were descended as a result of the division of the inheritance among the sons of Ednyfed Gam in the fourteenth century since there were never any Mostyn lands there. The Pengwern estate was augmented by purchase from time to time in the fourteenth century, often, probably, to expand or to round off an existing holding and by the end of the fourteenth century the family had a fairly respectable patrimony in Chirkland. Pengwern and Trecastell were united when Ieuan ap Adda ap Iorwerth Ddu of Pengwern married Angharad, the daughter and co-heiress of Ednyfed ap Tudur ap Coronwy of Trecastell. The Trecastell inheritance formed part of the Wyrion Eden complex of possessions held by the descendants of Ednyfed Fychan in Anglesey; it comprised Trecastell itself and the free township of Tregwehelyth or Bodlew in the commote of Llifon which had been acquired by Ednyfed's uncle Hywel ap Coronwy. The marriage of Ieuan and Angharad had taken place by the end of the fourteenth century.²

The family which built up the Mostyn estate itself was descended from Edwin of Tegeingl. The lands of Ithel Fychan seem to have been in and around Halkyn; he did buy lands elsewhere in Tegeingl but the real founder of the family fortunes was his son Tudur who began by acquiring lands in Halkyn. Tudur's great period of activity was between 1326 and 1366 when he spent well over £60 on land, most of which was in and around Whitford where the future centre of the estate was to be. Tudur's son Hywel inherited an estate of some importance and he was certainly one of the wealthiest men in Flintshire. Mostyn was the largest of the medieval estates united by a series of advantageous marriages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Hywel ap Tudur's daughter Angharad married Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan ap Adda of Pengwern and thus Mostyn, Pengwern, and

2. The various estates during the medieval period are discussed in the first three chapters of this study; Chapter I deals with Pengwern and Trecastell, Chapter II with Mostyn and Chapter III with Gloddaith and Tregarnedd.

Trecastell came to form a single inheritance. The Gloddaith estate lay in Rhos, Creuddyn, Anglesey, and Tegeingl or, to be more precise, in Mochdre, Gloddaith, Porthaethwy, Carnan, and Rhyd. The family was descended from Mabon Glochydd and its most prominent member was Madog Gloddaith, a leading figure in the principality in the mid-fourteenth century. Few deeds relate to acquisitions of land by the family; most of their purchases seem to have been to consolidate existing holdings. Tregarnedd, like Trecastell, was Wyrion Eden territory; it had passed through Gruffydd ap Ednyfed Fychan to Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, the leading figure in North Wales during the reign of Edward II. Madog Gloddaith married his daughter Morfudd and thus most of Tregarnedd, along with the township of Nantbychan in Twrcelyn, came into the possession of his descendants. The final link came with the marriage, late in the fifteenth century, of Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan of Mostyn and Pengwern and Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith.

It is difficult to estimate the size of the estate during the period under review since, although all the Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Denbighshire lands were surveyed in 1618, for Flintshire a survey only exists of Mostyn itself and Whitford. Nor are the acreages given from time to time in inquisitions post mortem particularly accurate. When Richard ap Hywel died in 1540 the total acreage of his Anglesey lands was given as 900 and that of the Caernarvonshire properties as 225;³ there are no figures for Flintshire or Denbighshire. But the 1618 survey gives the total acreage of the Anglesey estate, where little new land had been acquired since the death of Richard ap Hywel, as approximately 1,390 acres.⁴ The Caernarvonshire estate, surveyed in the same year, amounted to 1,339 acres but this included the Gloddaith demesne and some lands leased from the bishop of Bangor;⁵ a considerable amount of land had, moreover, been

3. P.R.O. S.C.6/Henry VIII/4695; m. 12b; 4959, mm. 14b-15a.

4. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

5. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6477.

bought in Caernarvonshire since 1540. The inquisition post mortem of William Mostyn, who died in 1576, records that in Flintshire his father had held a total of 2,110 acres in 20 townships, along with a capital messuage called Mostyn Hall and a watermill;⁶ the total annual value was £34. In 1618 the lands in Whitford itself, including the Mostyn demesne, amounted to 1,951 acres but there had been further purchases here.⁷ In the same series of surveys the extent of the Pengwern estate was recorded as 680 acres. Thus the total estate, allowing for the Flintshire properties for which no survey has survived, amounted to well over 5,360 acres when Sir Roger inherited it in 1618.⁸ Unfortunately the inquisition post mortem of Sir Roger's father Sir Thomas does not state the acreage of the various components of the estate, so no comparison is possible.

The nucleus of the estate lay in the border lowlands of Flintshire and Denbighshire although there were also lands in the upland parishes of the former county.⁹ Here the land was, by Welsh standards, reasonably rich and fertile. The soil was light and well-drained, and arable farming played an important part in the economy of the area; it was also good grazing land and probate inventories reveal the presence of large flocks of sheep. Enclosure seems to have occurred gradually between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a kind of sheep-corn husbandry seems to have been practised here although the surviving Mostyn papers contain little direct

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6. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 99; the document also lists the tenants.
 7. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.
 8. These figures do not include lands in Cheshire listed in the rentals.
 9. For a discussion of the various farming regions see F. V. Emery, 'The farming regions of Wales' in Agrarian History, IV, pp. 113-60.

information about the operations of the demesne or of the farms.¹⁰ The Pengwern estate in and around Llangollen lay in the same geographical region but here the land is of poorer quality and sheep-raising was probably more important.¹¹ The Creuddyn peninsula has been described as an outlier of the Vale of Clwyd where the richest farmland in North Wales was situated; farmers here tended to raise more cattle than elsewhere.¹² Anglesey is one of the best-documented parts of North Wales at this time, thanks largely to the diary of Robert Bulkeley of Dronwy. Cattle were the basis of Anglesey farming and dairy products figured prominently among the exports of the port of Beaumaris.¹³ Geographers divide the island into three main agricultural regions, the first being North Anglesey, now largely a region of pastoral farming;¹⁴ the Tregwehelyth property was situated here. In the middle of the island is the Malltraeth Marsh zone where the Tregarnedd and Nantbychan lands lay, while Trecastell was situated in the area now known as Sir Fôn Fach which is cut off from the rest of the island by Malltraeth Marsh and the Ceint valley. On the whole, therefore, the Mostyn estate consisted of land of good quality and, unlike many North Wales estates of comparable size, included little upland grazing that was good for nothing else. The valuations of the various demesnes may shed some light on the quality of the land. The value per acre of the Mostyn demesne about 1600 was

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10. B. M. Evans, 'Settlement and agriculture in North Wales, 1536-1670' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1966), pp. 88, 239-41; E. G. Bowen, ed., Wales, a Physical, Historical and Regional Geography (1957), pp. 446-7; F. V. Emery, Op. cit., p. 131. The Mostyn papers bear out the point about enclosure having taken place between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries; the earliest reference in the deeds to enclosed fields is in Trefednywain and Pentre in 1502 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3126) and the 1618 survey shows that farms in Whitford included many enclosed fields. At the same time, all the fourteenth-century deeds which give topographical details relate to strips or holdings in open fields as do a number of those of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and many tenements in 1618 included scattered parcels. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3124, which is discussed in Chapter II above, is best disregarded for the reasons given there.
11. E. G. Bowen, Op. cit., p. 457.
12. F. V. Emery, Op. cit., pp. 128, 132. In c 1619 the Gloddaith demesne was valued at 13s. 4d. the acre and that of Mostyn at 10s., which suggests superior fertility.
13. F. V. Emery, Op. cit., p. 129.
14. E. G. Bowen, Op. cit., p. 318.

approximately 4s. 4d. and that of Gloddaith approximately 8s. 3d.;¹⁵ after the 1618 survey the respective figures were 10s. and 13s. 4d.¹⁶ It is impossible to work out the figures for the other properties in about 1600 but in 1618 the Tregarnedd demesne was valued at 5s. the acre and Trecastell at about the same; Cefn-coch was valued at 4s. The Pengwern demesne amounted to 142 acres worth £40 annually, which works out at 5s. 8d. the acre.

No information about the management of the different estates during the medieval period is available. Tudur ap Ithel Fychan bought a great deal of land in Whitford and Iorwerth Ddu was guilty of a considerable amount of encroachment in Pengwern but that is really all the evidence there is. After Tudur there is no evidence of land purchase on a large scale until the time of Sir Roger Mostyn and many of his purchases were intended to provide for his younger sons rather than to augment the estate itself; in rentals and valuations the lands bought by Sir Roger were listed separately during his lifetime. If his acquisitions are discounted, the surviving deeds suggest that the Mostyns added very little to their possessions. Land was bought from time to time but between Tudur and Roger there is no evidence of any large-scale purchases.¹⁷ Until the seventeenth century successive heads of the family were content with a crown lease of the manor of Mostyn itself;¹⁸ many families would have sought an outright grant long before. The estate in 1600 was, by and large, the estate inherited by Thomas Mostyn in 1540, and it was an estate which had been accumulated by marriage rather than by purchase; in this the Mostyns might be contrasted with the Bulkeleys of Baron Hill who added considerably to their Anglesey estate by buying lands, especially in and around Beaumaris, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

15. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5484.

16. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486. During the 1608 Exchequer action over crown lands in Tregarnedd one of the deponents, Richard ap Richard, stated that the Herbert lands in the township were of better quality than those of Sir Thomas Mostyn (P.R.O. E134/5 James I/H1).

17. Land purchases in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are discussed in Chapters IV and V.

18. The descent of the manor of Mostyn is discussed in Appendix B.

The rentals and surveys show that each of the five houses had its own demesne. The function of the demesne was to provide food for the household and if the landowner kept it in his own hands and did not lease it a house like Mostyn could be self-supporting. The Mostyn demesne was the largest, consisting in 1618 of 945 acres; it was not included in the 1576 rental but at the end of the sixteenth century it was valued at £207. 7s. 8d. This figure excluded the coal-mines, various orchards and gardens, and the manor, held on a crown lease.¹⁹ The fields were all named; the largest, which amounted to 99 acres, was called Y Garreg and the contemporary rental and valuation valued the demesne at 10s. the acre which meant a total of £472. 10s.²⁰ A watermill brought in an annual toll from the tenants who took their corn there of 382 measures, which at two shillings a measure meant an annual value of £38. 4s.;²¹ the mill had not been valued in the previous valuation. The deed of feoffment which bears the date 1389 also names 121 separate parcels, comprising both strips in open fields and closes, many of which bear the same names as those listed in 1618, but the suspicion with which it must be regarded has already been discussed.²²

The Gloddaith demesne was only half the size of Mostyn, being 494 acres, but the higher valuation per acre suggests that the land was of better quality. The 1576 rental does include it and names the fields;²³ the total value was £71. 7s. 4d. but part seems to have been let as several tenants are named. The valuation made at the end of the sixteenth century shows the demesne to have been worth £202. 10s. annually while that made about 1619 valued it at £329. 6s. 8d.; these figures suggest that both Sir Thomas and Sir Roger had the estate revalued. According to the 1619 valuation Sir Roger built a windmill at Gloddaith soon after his father's death; from it during the previous year he had had 437

19. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5484.

20. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

21. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486; the inquisition post mortem of Sir Thomas Mostyn, taken in 1619, refers to two watermills at Mostyn (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 132). In c 1600 William Price Vaughan was paying a rent of £7. 5s. 4d. for the second mill and in 1619 the tenant was Robert Milner, paying £7. 3s. 4d.

22. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3124.

23. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 89b.

Winchester bushels of corn as toll, worth a total of £43. 14s. This was not the first mill there; in 1576 Gloddaith windmill was valued at £8 and at the end of the century it had gone up to £20 a year. The Pengwern demesne in 1619 amounted to 142 acres; Tregarnedd was just over 294 acres and Trecastell over 159.²⁴ None of these three seems to have contributed much to the income from the estate; in the second and third rentals Pengwern itself and the demesne were let to an old servant, Thomas Jones, at an annual rent of £5. 13s. 4d. Trecastell was held in 1576 by William Mostyn's brother Piers and he was still there at the end of the century, paying £13. 6s. 8d.; in 1619 it was let at £30. Tregarnedd was let in the first two rentals at £40; in 1619 the annual income of £60 was earmarked for Sir Roger's younger brother Thomas under the terms of his marriage settlement.²⁵

Neither the Mostyn nor the Gloddaith demesnes seem to have been leased as a general rule although there were a few demesne tenants at Gloddaith in 1576. They must therefore have been farmed directly, mainly to provide food for the two households, although any surplus would probably have been sold. Unfortunately the lack of both estate and household accounts means that it is impossible to consider the management of the estate or the domestic economy of Mostyn and Gloddaith in any detail; however, some information is available and on it some suggestions can be based. When William Mostyn died in September, 1576, a list of stock at Mostyn, Gloddaith, and Tregarnedd was drawn up, presumably for the probate inventory, and this sheds some light on the way the demesne was farmed at that time.²⁶ At Mostyn there were 261 ewes and yearlings and 131 lambs. The cattle comprised 20 draught oxen, 13 oxen in feeding, and two bullocks ready for work; these were probably working stock used in the running of the estate. Other cattle consisted of 35 cows, 21 calves, 3 bulls, 8 three-year-old heifers, and three one-year-old calves; the horses included two dray mares, four dray

24. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486.
25. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486; 113.
26. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 2a-3a.

horses, four geldings, five horses and colts, and three carrying mares and there were various implements, among them four iron-bound wagons, two pairs of harrows, four pairs of plough-irons, and a number of smaller tools. There were two ewes and 56 lambs at Gloddaith itself and 228 sheep at Gogarth; cattle included 35 milking cows, 85 beasts of between two and four years old, 25 cows, and four oxen and there were also a bay gelding, a dray horse, two mares, a one-year-old colt, and eight small pigs along with a quantity of oats. At Tregarnedd 74 head of cattle included a bull, eight oxen, 25 bullocks, 25 milking cows, and 15 calves; there were also 35 ewes, two lambs, two tups, and seven horses and a stock of oats.

There are a few other details of stock; on 18 May, 1611, there were 104 wethers grazing on Cilcain Mountain and there were 123 there in the custody of Hugh Griffith, one of the Cilcain tenants, on 3 July, 1612.²⁷ 123 were delivered at Cilcain and another 13 lambs which were to be kept for wethers were also to be sent to Gwacco. At Plas Uchaf there were 27 sheep in the care of Richard ap William, another tenant; he was also responsible for 43 head of cattle there, including a bull, four oxen, and heifers of various ages. At Cilcain there were a bull, ten oxen, and 15 cows. The references to Cilcain and Plas Uchaf suggest that this stock belonged to the heir, Sir Roger, since he lived at these two places at various times; the final figures come from the time when he had inherited the estate when, on 1 July, 1619, he listed the stock at Mostyn.²⁸ Sheep comprised 186 barren ewes, wethers, yearling lambs, and two and three-year-old beasts grazing on the common, 121 milch ewes, and 49 fat wethers and ewes at grass; 59 yearling lambs of this total were sent to be kept on Cilcain Mountain and 57 wethers were brought to Mostyn to replace them. A total of 135 head of cattle included two bulls, 30 working oxen, and 32 milch cows; some beasts had been brought from Gloddaith. There were six working horses and one mare.

27. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

28. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5487. In his will Sir Thomas Mostyn earmarked 12 cows and 100 sheep for the maintenance of his daughter Margaret Griffith while she lived apart from her husband (Clwyd R.O. D/M/3734).

It is difficult to draw hard and fast conclusions about the working of the demesne from such scattered evidence. Sheep-farming was undoubtedly an important activity but there is nothing to indicate to what extent sheep were bred for wool or for sale. The sources certainly do suggest that lambs were sold; there were, for example, only two at Tregarnedd in September, 1576, near the end of the selling season, while in 1612 13 lambs at Cilcain were to be kept for wethers. There is nothing to show how or when stock was sold; the only market in Flintshire was at Caerwys and there were fairs there on the feast of Corpus Christi, at Northop on 27 July and at Flint on 1 August.²⁹ The existence of mills at Mostyn and Gloddaith, the implements at Mostyn and the stocks of oats at Gloddaith and Tregarnedd indicate arable farming and the fact that there were far more working oxen than horses in 1576 and 1619 would suggest that they were used for ploughing. Cattle were probably bred for domestic supplies of meat and dairy products although some of the bullocks and heifers listed may have been store cattle being prepared for sale. But in the absence of more detailed evidence it is impossible to make any more precise statements about the farming of the demesne. Nor is there any information available about labour although the conditions of a lease of Cefn-coch in 1613 included the tenant's obligation to find a reaper for one week each year at Gloddaith and to do 'all such services as other my tenants of Anglisey doe and usuallie have done to me'.³⁰

The limited evidence available suggests that in the management of the Mostyn and Gloddaith demesnes the Mostyns were, as in so many other things, conservative; they were neither flockmasters nor large-scale corn producers. Of course, large-scale demesne farming was not common in England or Wales at this time and even those families like the Spencers of Althorpe in Northamptonshire who did exploit their demesnes continued to let many farms to tenants. And where it did exist it seems to have been declining rapidly in the first half of the seventeenth

29. George Owen, The Taylor's Cussion (ed. E. M. Pritchard, 1906), p. 79b; the principal Anglesey market was at Llanerch-y-medd.

30. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) 745.

century; even the ranchers of the English midlands were going over to leasing.³¹ The Mostyn demesnes were really little more than large home farms as far as the rearing of cattle and the growing of crops were concerned; there was, probably, however, a measure of commercial exploitation in the raising of sheep. But the direct working of the demesne ensured that the Mostyns retained a stake in the soil and did not become mere rentiers living off the profits of their estates; the head of the family was a farmer as well as a landlord.

The evidence for an examination of the Mostyns as landlords is as scarce as that available for the working of the demesne; the only sources are the rentals and valuations and a small number of leases. There are, in fact, only 42 surviving leases for the whole period under review although the 1619 rental alone gives the names of 118 tenants in the four counties, excluding the lands bought by Sir Roger himself. Any study of this kind involves an attempt to answer several questions. To what extent did rents move upward and what part did entry fines play in such a movement? Did landlords have a definite policy in granting leases? How were the tenants treated? And what sort of income did the landlords draw from their estates? The shortage of Mostyn material means that answers to these questions can be no more than hesitant suggestions, but they must be attempted nevertheless. The largest part of the estate lay in Flintshire; no valuation is available for 1576 but the total rents amounted to £82. 15s. 8d.³² At the end of the century the Flintshire estate, excluding the Mostyn demesne, was valued at £290. 11s. and the rents were £98. 4s. 8d. and in 1619 the value, again excluding the demesne and also the lands purchased by Sir Roger, was £529. 11s. 9d., yielding a total rent of £183. 9s. 5d.³³ The Pengwern rents in 1576 amounted to £15. 12s.; by the end of the century they had gone up to

31. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, p. 141.

32. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 87b-88b.

33. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5484, 5486. The c 1619 figures for lands bought by Sir Roger are as follows:

Flintshire:	Value:	£190. 10s. 4d.	Rent:	£112. 2s.
Denbighshire:	"	£16.	"	£9. 17s.
Caernarvonshire:	"	£62. 6s. 8d.	"	£24. 9s. 8d.

£16. 16s. 8d., the total annual value being £39. 19s. 8d., and in 1619 the rent-roll was £72. 13s. 4d. and the valuation, including the house and demesne in this case, £127. The figures for Caernarvonshire are a good deal less satisfactory since the rentals are probably incomplete. In 1576 the rents were £5. 9s. 8d.; this excludes rents from the demesne which came to £18. 15s. 4d. At the end of the century the total value, exclusive of the demesne, was £51. 15s. 4d. and the rents were £14. 8s. 4d. In 1619 the annual value was £77. 13s. 4d., again not counting the demesne, and the total rental was £37. 18s. 8d. Once again lands acquired by Sir Roger are not included. These figures are almost certainly incomplete but in 1655 the total rents due from the Gloddaith, Llandudno, and Llysfaen lands amounted to £157. 18s. 8d.³⁴ The total rental of the Anglesey lands in 1576 was £78. 8s. 7d. and at the end of the century it had gone down slightly to £77. 12s. 11d.; the total annual value was £200. A rental of 1611 gives a total of £97. 7s. 2d. and in 1619 the value was £368. 6s. 8d. and the rents were £233. 16s.³⁵ Finally there were some lands in Cheshire; in 1576 they yielded a rent of £9. 15s. 8d. which had gone up to £10. 9s. 4d. by the end of the century; the annual value on the latter occasion was £32. 4s. 8d. In 1619 the lands were worth £76 but the rents had fallen again to £9. 6s. 8d.; these figures do not include the rectory of Christleton.

Whatever their shortcomings, the foregoing figures do indicate a definite upward movement of rents on the Mostyn estate between 1576 and 1619. This is confirmed by individual rents and by some of the leases. The problem presented by rentals, of course, is that they make no allowance for the beneficial lease, that is, the payment by the tenant of a large cash fine at the outset followed by a low annual rent for the rest of the term. The Flintshire rentals give little evidence of increased rents from the individual tenants, although there was a complete revaluation of the estate in 1618 following its inheritance by Sir Roger. To quote just one example, the 66 acres held in Whitford about 1600 by

34. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5428-9: Caerns. rents, May and Michaelmas, 1655.

Richard ap Cynwrig was valued at £13. 6s. 8d.; in 1619 the tenement was held by his son Thomas and valued at £24. But the annual rent had been £4 in 1576 and it was still £4 in 1619. This suggests that a fine must have been charged when the lease fell due for renewal. There are some references to entry fines on the Flintshire estate; at the end of the sixteenth century Richard ap Allen was paying an annual rent of £1 for a tenement of 18 acres in Whitford worth £3. 6s. 8d. In 1619 he was paying the same rent, while the value had doubled to £6. 13s. 4d., but a note in one of the account books records that on 1 August, 1607, Sir Thomas Mostyn had let the tenement to Richard ap Allen for ten years for a fine of £10.³⁶ The note adds 'with condicion that if he did not doe me that service as other tenants did, he to bate me 20s. of the fyne everie yeare'. This suggests that services from the tenants counted as part of the rent but there is no evidence to carry this argument further. In the same account book there is a further note, dated 28 June, 1608, of the receipt of two fines from Nannerch from Thomas David ap Howell (£10) and Piers ap William Benet (£20).³⁷ About 1600 Thomas was paying an annual rent of 10s. for a tenement valued at £2. 13s. 4d. and William Benet was paying £1. 3s. 4d. for one valued at £6; in 1619 Piers ap William Benet was paying £7. 10s. and the annual value was £12. But the movement of individual rents cannot be examined in detail without the survival of a sequence of leases.

The only Pengwern lease to have survived for this period relates to land bought by Sir Roger after 1619 but here the movement of individual rents can be seen in the rentals. In 1576 John ap Hywel was paying an annual rent of £1. 13s. 4d. and at the end of the century his wife was paying the same amount; the tenement was then valued at £4. 6s. 8d. In 1619 Edward ap John ap Hywel was paying £10, a rent equal to the new valuation. John David ap Hywel was paying

35. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5423: Anglesey rental, 18 November, 1611.
36. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 92b.
37. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 4a.

£1. 6s. 8d. in the first two rentals, the annual value at the end of the century being £3. 6s. 10d.; by 1619 both rent and valuation were £3. The Pengwern figures suggest, in fact, that after the 1618 revaluation there were no beneficial leases, rent and value being identical for most tenements. This could mean that these lands were being let for commercial rents and that no entry fines were being levied. The Caernarvonshire rentals are almost certainly incomplete and very few leases have survived, with the result that no meaningful examples can be drawn from them; for Anglesey, however, there are rather more leases and some movement can be traced. In 1492 Richard ap Hywel leased a tenement in Trecastell called Plas Goronwy to William Fychan for 100 years at an annual rent of 7s. 4d.³⁸; there is no mention here of any entry fine. In 1536 Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel leased the manor house and tenement of Trecastell to Richard Johnson of Beaumaris for 32 years at an annual rent of 4 marks (£2. 13s. 4d.) with the provision that Thomas ap William Fychan should be allowed to occupy it for eight years;³⁹ this may have served to protect the rights of the tenant under the earlier lease. In 1576 Piers Mostyn was paying an annual rent of £13. 6s. 8d. for Trecastell and he was still doing so at the end of the century; the same rent was being paid by Thomas Mostyn, possibly Piers's son, in 1611 and by 1619 the rent was £30. According to a rental of 1622 the tenant then was called Humphrey Jones.⁴⁰ In 1545 Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel leased half the township of Tregwehelyth to Ieuan ap Rhys ap Ieuan ap Gwilym, gentleman, to be held as he had always held it (which indicates that an existing lease was being renewed) for 40 years at an annual rent of 20s.⁴¹ This tenancy does not appear in the rental of 1576; a later lease recites a renewal to Ieuan by William Mostyn in 1565 for 21 years at an annual rent of 10s. but with an entry fine of £50. This means a total income of £60. 10s. over the term as opposed to a total of

38. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 753.
 39. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 755.
 40. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.
 41. N.L.W. Thorne 46.

£40 for the earlier lease. This information comes from a lease of 1580 by Thomas Mostyn to Richard Lewis Thomas of Tregarnedd which was to begin on the expiry of the previous one;⁴² under its terms the tenant was to pay an annual rent of 40s. and an entry fine of £48 which, since the lease was for 21 years, meant a total income of £90 and therefore almost a 50 per cent increase over the previous one. These figures indicate a considerable movement of rent and this is confirmed by the rentals. In 1576 Thomas ap Hywel was paying 5s. for his tenement in Nantbychan; his son John was paying the same rent in 1611 but in 1619 he was paying £2. 14s.

The rents from the Cheshire lands in 1619 were very low in comparison with their value but heavy entry fines were being exacted here. According to the rental Thomas Thorpe was paying £4. 13s. 4d. annually for two tenements in Chester worth £24 but he had paid a fine of £80 for a lease for three lives. The widow Ellen Allyn was paying £2 under a lease for three lives for the Golden Lion Inn in Foregate Street worth £12 but she had paid a fine of £66. 13s. 4d.; this lease was made in 1619.⁴³ In Neston Alice Moseley, another widow, was paying 13s. 4d. for a messuage worth £10; the lease was renewed in 1631 for three lives at an annual rent of 6s. 8d. and a fine of £15.⁴⁴ The rental also records the lease of lands in Meols worth £30 for an annual rent of £2 for three lives and a fine of £66. 13s. 4d. Beneficial leases were obviously the order of the day in Cheshire. A lease of the rectory of Christleton was worth £100 and in 1627 it was let again to John Golborne of that parish at a rent of £120.⁴⁵

The movement of rent on the Mostyn estate during the period under review was uneven and the surviving evidence is far from satisfactory but the family income from rents certainly did increase although the rentals suggest that the

42. N.L.W. Thorne 272.

43. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4309.

44. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4533.

45. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4324.

tenants were not pushed too hard. The total proportion of annual rent to annual value can also illustrate the changing degree of exploitation although once again this does not take into account 'that arch-enemy of the economic historian, the beneficial lease'.⁴⁶ However, figures from the Mostyn estate may be useful as a rough guide. In Flintshire at the end of the sixteenth century the ratio of rental to valuation was £98. 4s. 8d. to £290. 11s. or 1:2.95; the Mostyn demesne is excluded from these calculations. In 1619 it was £183. 9s. 5d. to £529. 11s. 9d. or 1:2.89 approximately. Although both rents and values had increased, their relationship was almost unchanged, which suggests that the upward movement was also reflected in the entry fines, of which we have no record. On the Denbighshire estate the ratio about 1600 was £16. 16s. 8d. to £39. 19s. 8d. or 1:2.375; in 1619 it was £72. 13s. 4d. to £127. or 1:1.75. If, however, the house and demesne, let at a low rent to an old servant, are excluded, the ratio comes to £67 to £87 or 1:1.3, a figure which may indicate, as has already been suggested, that the lands here were now being let at commercial rents. The Caernarvonshire figures are not entirely satisfactory but in the first rental under discussion the ratio was £14. 8s. 4d. to £46. 15s. 4d. or 1:3.24 exclusive of the Gloddaith demesne, while in 1619 it was £37. 18s. 8d. to £77. 13s. 4d. or 1:2.05 which again indicates a rise in the level of exploitation. In Anglesey the figures in the first rental were £77. 12s. 11d. to £200 or approximately 1:2.6; in the second they were £233. 16s. to £368. 6s. 8d. or approximately 1:1.57. The conclusion would seem to be that the Denbighshire and Anglesey estates were being exploited more intensively than the others by 1619.

In both England and Wales estate management was now largely a matter of the management of leases and leaseholders and the grant of a lease was based on the assessment of the value of the property and the division of the profit between entry fine and rent, bearing in mind the term. This led to the making of detailed surveys and surveys and valuations in their turn made it possible for a

46. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, p. 154.

landowner to follow a consistent policy in the granting of leases; the Mostyn estate was surveyed in 1618 soon after Sir Roger had inherited it. Leases in the late sixteenth century were usually for 21 years or three lives and it has been suggested that the latter were more common in the highland zone.⁴⁷ The surviving Mostyn leases are too few in number to make any remarks stronger than suggestions about them but they do include an extremely varied range of terms ranging from seven to 100 years and including one, two and three lives;⁴⁸ there are, moreover, more for 21 years (8) than for three lives (6). One interesting lease is that of Cefn-coch, let to Henry Vaughan of Beaumaris in 1613 for an annual rent of £10 for the life of Sir Thomas Mostyn;⁴⁹ this must have been intended as a short lease since Sir Thomas must have been 70 by this time. The beneficial lease was the most common form; the fine allowed for the upward movement of prices without increasing the annual rent while the landlord was able to raise large sums at short notice by granting reversions. This gave the tenant security of tenure and the fine at the outset meant that he paid less in the long run; for the landlord, however, there was the disadvantage that income fluctuated and that the estate might also be milked to the loss of the heirs and the tenant, forced to find a large sum to pay the fine, might land himself short of capital for stocking and improvements. It was not until the early seventeenth century that an effective method of calculating fines was devised; they were worked out on the basis of the difference between the annual rent and the annual value in terms of so many years purchase, allowance being made for interest on the fine which was regarded as an advance of rent.⁵⁰ Not many landlords applied the new formula in its full rigour to begin with and often they did not do so until the second half of the century. In conclusion it might be added that the problem of lack of evidence is not peculiar to the Mostyn estate; in his study of the gentry

47. L. Stone, Op. cit., p. 148.

48. The range of terms would seem to suggest that the Mostyns did not follow any consistent policy in the granting of leases; an 80-year lease of a tenement in Pengwern was granted as late as 1630 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1724).

49. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 745.

50. L. Stone, Op. cit., pp. 148-54.

of south-west Wales Dr. Howell Lloyd found that leasing policy on the estates he examined was very difficult to study on account of the lack of sequences of leases for analysis and in his case the problem was exacerbated by the absence of surveys which made estimates of the effect of fines almost impossible.⁵¹

The preceding pages illustrate the problems which face anyone attempting an assessment of the Mostyns as landlords; the lack of evidence, despite the wealth of the family archives, is daunting. The rentals are almost certainly incomplete, there are few leases (and fewer still which give entry fines) and no accounts to speak of. But the Mostyns do seem to have been lenient landlords; the ratio of rents to valuations would suggest that most of their tenants during this period were granted beneficial leases and the few entry fines that are recorded suggest that the estate was not being exploited to the limit. Towards the end of the period, however, Sir Roger Mostyn was taking more care with his calculations; in 1630 the lease of Y Tyddyn yn Wacco in Mertyn Uwch Llan was renewed.⁵² In 1619 this property was valued at £10 and the rent was £6; under the new lease, which was for three lives (the lessee, his wife and his son), the rent was the same and an entry fine of £40 was levied. Allowing for interest which, after 1624, was at the rate of 8%, this works out at a rent equal to the annual value.⁵³ Three lives were generally taken to have been equal to 21 years; if the property was let at the annual value, therefore, Sir Roger's total income would have been £210. At a rent of £6 it amounted to £126 and the addition of the fine only brought it up to £166. This shows how the beneficial lease benefited the tenant; in a lease for lives he could gain further since a better expectation of life meant that three lives could last a good deal longer than

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51. H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640 (1968), p. 65. Dr. Lloyd also makes the point that long leases granted many years previously came nowhere near the annual value of the land concerned.
52. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2839; this property had been bought by Sir Roger (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486).
53. The formula for calculating the fine is described by L. Stone, Op. cit., p. 151. If a property was let at a lower rent than the annual value the fine was a multiple of the residual value, in this case £4. For a lease of 21 years or three lives the fine at 8% interest would be ten years' purchase or £40; in effect the landlord was therefore borrowing from his tenants.

The tenants do seem to have enjoyed security of tenure. Leases were renewed and the rentals suggest that sons often followed their fathers in their tenements. Of course, relations between landlord and tenant were governed by certain moral and social obligations.⁵⁵ It was regarded as wrong for a landlord to push his tenants too hard and his old tenants were considered to be deserving of extra consideration. Whatever the discrepancy between rental income and annual value might be, it was highly questionable whether it was desirable to work an estate to the limit; it was important that a landlord's relations with his tenants should be close and friendly if not paternal and if this was the attitude of contemporary opinion in England it was all the more so in Wales. Here the idea of the uchelwr surrounded by his plaid of tenants and dependants survived for a long time and the relationship was regarded as something more than the payment of rent and the performance of services. Rents on the Mostyn estate did increase; the figures in the surviving rentals, excluding the Mostyn and Gloddaith demesnes and the lands bought by Sir Roger, show a rise in the total rent-roll from £194. 1s. 7d. in 1576 to £537. 17s. 5d. in 1619, an increase of approximately 2.77 times. But compared with increases elsewhere this is small; in England rents doubled, trebled and quadrupled in a matter of decades and on the Petre estate in Essex the rents of many large farms were increased between five and ten times over between 1572 and 1640.⁵⁶ Even in Wales there was a tenfold increase in rents on the Myddelton estate between 1595 and 1631 and the Myddeltons enjoyed good relations with their tenants and were certainly not working the estate to the limit.⁵⁷

Thus, although the rents on the Mostyn estate did increase, the increase seems to have been nothing like that on other estates, even after a general

54. It may be worth pointing out that in law a lease for lives conferred a freehold interest (M. E. Finch, The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, p. 151).

55. For a discussion of this point see L. Stone, Op. cit., pp. 143-54.

56. P. Bowden, 'Agricultural prices, farm profits and rents' in Agrarian History, IV, p. 690.

57. Gwyn R. Thomas, 'Sir Thomas Myddelton, 1586-1666' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1967), pp. 278, 307; it must, however, be borne in mind that the Myddeltons purchased a good deal of land during this period.

reevaluation in 1618. Unfortunately the lack of leases makes it impossible to examine what happened when the long leases which kept rents down expired after the reevaluation but up till then the tenants seem to have enjoyed very favourable conditions. Indeed, this is borne out by the poets; Huw Machno praised Sir Thomas Mostyn's treatment of his tenants and suggested that they enjoyed security of tenure:⁵⁸

Da 'mhlaid tenantiaid yn un ton - or taid
Heb newid deiliaid heb nôd holion

And in his awdl foliant to Sir Thomas composed in 1604 Rhys Cain praised him for not raising rents and pushing his tenants hard as some landlords were already doing, especially those who had recently come up in the world:⁵⁹

Y mae rhai cedyrn, mawr eu codiad,
Yn dyrchafu 'u rhent drwy wych fawrhad,
Ni mynnud, rhwyddwalch mwyn d'arweddiad,
Eithr hen ardreth a thrwy iawn ordriad;
Ni chodaist, tyfaist, mae tyfiad - rhag llaw,
Erioed i'r ddwylaw rod ar ddeiliad

So far the discussion has been of lands let for money rents. But the lease could involve more than this; indeed, it did not have to involve a cash payment at all. It is difficult to say how far rents in kind in North Wales were survivals and how far recent innovations; on most estates there was probably a mixture of both. Certainly the Mostyns received rents in kind; they had a share of all the corn ground at the Mostyn and Gloddaith mills and some leases included produce rents. When Cefn-coch was let to Henry Vaughan in 1613 the annual rent was fixed at £10 and six capons.⁶⁰ In 1562 William Mostyn leased a tenement in Pentraeth which he had bought from the lessee to Gruffydd ap Hugh ap Llywelyn for 21 years at an annual rent of ten shillings and six capons every Easter.⁶¹ Again, in 1622, Sir Roger leased a house and land in Gogarth to Rhys Thomas of

58. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 12, f. 6a; the passage quoted suggests that Sir Thomas was not given to changing tenants.

59. N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 322, quoted by R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru, IX, p. 89; the quotation is not easily translated but the poet's meaning is that some landowners have gone up in the world and have raised their rents to keep pace with their rise. Sir Thomas never sought to do this but he grew in wealth and will continue to grow by just treatment of his tenants and by not raising rents.

60. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 745.

61. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 765.

Gogarth and his wife for two lives at an annual rent of 12s., two capons and tenant service.⁶² Sir Thomas Mostyn's lease of a messuage in Bagillt to his servants Oliver and Nicholas Jones in 1610 also included the provision of six capons a year.⁶³

Capon rents are also recorded in some rentals. According to a capon rental of 1603 tenants owed a total of 304 birds annually.⁶⁴ Of these 195 were due from Flintshire and 156 of this total came from tenants in Whitford. Pengwern owed 34, Gloddaith 13 and Anglesey tenants were responsible for a total of 62. These rents were still being collected in Flintshire in 1618; a half-yearly rental of lands in Cilcain, Nannerch and Halkyn shows a total of 53 from the majority of the tenants there.⁶⁵ The 1619 valuation and rental refers to 'presents' due from the various estates. Those from Gloddaith were valued at £2 while in Flintshire those from Whitford amounted to £10 and from other lands in the county to £15; those from Denbighshire were worth £5 and from Anglesey £10 and these figures must relate to rents in kind. There are a few other references; the rental of 1576 includes the 'meadowing' (presumably grazing rights on the demesne) at Gloddaith worth £20 annually and also mentions land there let for three 'sheeffe' (this probably means every third sheaf of corn). The total yield amounted to 68 sheaves. There are other examples of share-cropping; in 1619 various lands at Gloddaith were let for half the crop, from which Sir Roger received a total of £54. 8s. being the value of wheat, barley, beans and peas. The 1618 Cilcain rental also refers to some small properties let for half the corn and one of these, in Halkyn, has the additional note 'to be limed, 1618'; one tenant in Cilcain owed three hens. There are no references to food renders other than capons; since the Mostyns were farming the Mostyn and Gloddaith demesnes during this period there was probably no need for them.

62. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1133.

63. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2480.

64. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 15a-16a.

65. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

Despite the shortage of leases, the existence of some rents in kind suggests that they did form an integral part of annual rents and should therefore be borne in mind when considering the ratio of rent to valuation. On many estates rents in kind were the result of the decline of demesne farming by landowners and the need for food supplies for their households and it has been estimated that most of the peerage at this time were receiving food to the value of between five and ten per cent of their total income from land.⁶⁶ As a general rule rents in kind became more important during the sixteenth century, often as a hedge against inflation. Cottagers had always rendered some of their rents in this way but now such renders were frequently being written into leases.⁶⁷ It was food supplies for their houses which also made so many landlords so anxious to acquire tithes; the Mostyns acquired those of the township of Gloddaith and seem generally to have been able to lease those of Whitford and in May, 1611, Sir Thomas paid the parson of Halkyn £4 in part payment for the tithes of Hendrefigillt.⁶⁸ There are a few references to other rents; among the family papers there is a list of freeholders along with a twnc rental and a list of rents due to the lord dating from before 1558 (it bears the signature of Thomas ap Richard and as it includes instructions for the escheator when drawing up an inquisition post mortem it may have been drawn up after the death of Richard ap Hywel).⁶⁹ This probably relates to the manor of Mostyn as do the corn-rents of £1. 0s. 9d. due from Mostyn in 1638;⁷⁰ in 1631 they had amounted to 13s. 5½d. for the half year.

There is very little information available about the administration of the estates. Each one seems to have been in the care of a steward, often, probably, a member of one of the lesser local gentry families.⁷¹ The names of no stewards

66. L. Stone, Op. cit., p. 142.

67. P. Bowden, Op. cit., p. 682.

68. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

69. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6243.

70. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6243; the case for their connection with the manor is strengthened by the fact that not all the names are in the actual rental.

71. A. H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (1952), p. 15, discusses the role of the steward. Robert Bulkeley, the Dronwy diarist, was steward to Mrs. Mostyn, the widow of Dr. Henry Mostyn of Talacre (W. Ogwen Williams, Tudor Gwynedd (1958), p. 29, n.4; F. V. Emery in Agrarian History, IV, p. 129).

as such have survived but it is possible that Andrew Mostyn, probably one of the sons of Piers Mostyn, brother of William and consequently first cousin to Sir Thomas, was steward at Gloddaith during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. A few fragmentary accounts do exist and one records the receipt of a total of £82. 19s. 7d. from Andrew Mostyn between 25 November, 1606 and 19 April, 1608;⁷² a total of £8. 18s. was left in his hand or, in other words, allowed for necessary expenditure. There are no further details but the receipt of sums at intervals suggests a connection with the estate and in 1618 Andrew Mostyn held two tenements in Caernarvonshire.⁷³ The various Flintshire properties may have been in the care of bailiffs; in 1580 Thomas Mostyn noted the receipt of sums totalling £80. 18s. from the bailiffs of Whitford, Faenol, and Cilcain, being rents for the year.⁷⁴ There are also various references to servants holding tenements on favourable terms and some of these may have had some part in the management of the estate; at the end of the sixteenth century, for example, and again in 1619, Pengwern itself was let to Thomas Jones, described in the latter document as an old servant, at an annual rent of £5. 13s. 4d. The annual value had risen in the meantime from £13. 6s. 8d. to £40. In 1586 Thomas Mostyn leased a messuage and lands in Cyngreawdr to his servant Edward Griffith for life at an annual rent of 10s. and four capons;⁷⁵ the property was at that time held by the lessee's father Gruffydd ap Dafydd. And in 1580 Thomas had leased to his servant Oliver Jones the messuage in Bagillt where he lived for three lives at an annual rent of 40s.⁷⁶ A further lease of the same property was made to Oliver and his son Nicholas, who was also in Mostyn service, in 1610 for the same rent with the addition of four capons for the lives of the lessees.⁷⁷ At the end of the sixteenth century no rent was listed for this property which was valued at £8; by 1619 both Oliver and Nicholas were dead and it was occupied by a kinsman, William Mostyn of Bagillt. He was paying an annual rent of £5 and the tenement

72. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6477.

73. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6477; he was one of the servants to whom Sir Thomas left 40s. in his will (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3734).

74. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 5a.

75. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1097 (ii).

76. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2479.

77. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2480.

was now worth £20; in 1647 the lease was renewed for 80 years in favour of William's son John at the same rent and the fact that no fine is mentioned may suggest generous terms for a kinsman.⁷⁸

There are a number of examples of lands held by relatives. In 1576 Roger, one of the younger brothers of William Mostyn, was paying an annual rent of £4 for land in Whitford. Piers Mostyn was paying five shillings in Llanasa; this may be Piers Mostyn of Talacre, the younger son of Richard ap Hywel, who was still living at this time. A Piers Mostyn, almost certainly another of William's brothers, was paying £13. 6s. 8d. rent for the Trecastell house and demesne and he was probably the Piers Mostyn whose annuity, charged to lands in Whitford and Faenol, was yielding £8. 4s. 6d. In 1594 Thomas Mostyn and Edward Griffith leased land in Cyngreawdr to Rowland Mostyn, another of William's brothers, for 40 years at an annual rent of fourpence to build himself a house.⁷⁹ At the end of the century Roger Mostyn was still paying £4 for his tenement in Whitford; Piers Mostyn the younger of Talacre still owed five shillings in Llanasa and Rowland Mostyn had an annuity worth £8 there. These annuities stemmed originally from the will of Thomas Mostyn. In Cilcain John Mostyn, the brother of Sir Thomas, owed £1. 8s. 4d. for lands valued at £10. 16s. and Piers was still at Trecastell. In Creuddyn an annuity of £5 for William Mostyn's brother William was charged on lands held by Maurice Kyffin of Maenan, the husband of Sir Thomas's aunt Margaret; Kyffin also held lands of the annual value of £13 there, most of them rent-free. In 1611 Thomas Mostyn, probably the son of Piers, was paying £13. 6s. 8d. for Trecastell and in 1619 Mrs. Elin Mostyn owed 15s. for a tenement worth £4 in Whitford while Edward Mostyn of Talacre paid a rent of £2 for lands valued at £13. 6s. 8d. in Llanasa. £60 from Tregarnedd was earmarked for Sir Roger's brother Thomas under the terms of his marriage settlement.

Although the sources that are available can give some idea of the income which

78. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2482.
79. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1097 (1).

the Mostyns enjoyed, the absence of accounts and estate papers means that it is impossible to calculate the entire income for any year. A great deal has been written on the wealth and income of the gentry during this period but detailed studies can only be the result of adequate evidence and as far as the Mostyns are concerned such evidence has not come to light.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, some suggestions can be made. Whatever his other sources of income may have been, the revenue of the landlord depended in the end on the size of his rent-roll and the way in which he benefited from the contemporary rise in prices and land values depended to a large extent on the terms on which he let his land.⁸¹ The prevailing climate of opinion made it difficult for a landlord to obtain all the potential profit from his estate, so that he could not always take full advantage of rising prices and agricultural profits; long leases were just one of the obstacles in his way.⁸² But, on the whole, if landlords took some trouble over the management of their estates, there was no reason why they should not prosper.

When William Mostyn died in 1576 the total recorded income in rents was £219. 1s. 5d.;⁸³ this figure includes £8. 4s. 6d. from lands in Whitford and Y Faenol set aside for an annuity for William's brother Piers. The Gloddaith income includes those parts of the demesne let to tenants but does not include the value of the rest. The total figure is certainly an underestimate; it does not include the lands at Gloddaith let for one-third of the crop nor the income of £20 from grazing on the demesne. A sum of £4. 7s. from the 'Bishop's Farm' is also excluded; this was probably the income from tenants of the episcopal manor of Gogerth in Creuddyn held on lease. There is no information about the profits of the Mostyn and Gloddaith demesnes at this or, indeed, at any other time. Nor were rents the only source of income and rentals reveal nothing of entry fines, nor of rents in kind, nor of services; moreover the few surviving leases show that

80. For example M. E. Finch, Op. cit.; A. Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540-1660 (1961).

81. P. Bowden in Agrarian History, IV, pp. 674-5.

82. H. J. Habakkuk in M. E. Finch, Op. cit., pp. xi-xix.

83. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 87b-91a.

the rentals are not complete. There are some figures available for comparison; in the middle of the sixteenth century the annual value of the Penrhyn estate seems to have been about £400 and between 1569 and 1571 the Gwydir rent-roll amounted to about £150 a year.⁸⁴ The rental and valuation made about 1600 does at least state what was not included;⁸⁵ no figures are given for the coal mines at Mostyn or for the manors of Mostyn, held on a crown lease, and Gogarth, held on a lease from the bishop. Roger Mostyn was already buying lands on his own account and these, of course, do not appear. The total rent-roll amounted to £217. 19s. 7d. which suggests that the poets were right and that Sir Thomas Mostyn did not push his tenants hard. The valuation, including the Mostyn and Gloddaith demesnes and the rectory of Christleton, was £1,103. 10s. 4d.; again there are no figures for rents in kind or services.

The final source is the rental and valuation of 1619, following a new survey the previous year.⁸⁶ This is more detailed than its predecessors; it gives what may be the values of rents in kind and also of the corn rendered at the Mostyn and Gloddaith mills and it values the coal mines at £700 a year.⁸⁷ It does not include the manor of Gogarth but it does include the land bought by Sir Roger on his own account before he inherited the main estate.⁸⁸ The total income recorded, including rents in kind, the proceeds of lands at Gloddaith let for a share of the crop and the issues of the coal mines amounted to £1,678. 12s. 1d.; the income from rents alone was £700. 16s. 1d. This shows that the profits of coal-mining formed a substantial part of the Mostyn income. Christleton is included in these figures but the Gloddaith and Whitford tithes are not and again no figures are available for the profits of the demesnes. As before, these figures take no account of fines and the rentals are probably an underestimate. The total annual value, including the demesnes and the coal was £3,275. 1s. 5d.;

84. T. Jones Pierce in Agrarian History, IV, pp. 374, 376.

85. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5484.

86. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5486.

87. In point of fact this figure is given for 'other Commodities' but it is probably reasonably safe to assume that it applies to the coal mines.

88. These purchases are discussed in Chapter V.

that of lands out on lease was £2,493. 13s. 5d. About 1630 the rent-roll of the Salusburies of Lleweni was about £1,400, while the norm for estates like Nannau and Cochwillan between 1580 and 1640 was between £300 and £400.⁸⁹

In the light of the lack of evidence there is really nothing else that can be said about landed income. The Mostyns, however, were not as completely dependent on it as were many of their contemporaries and Sir Roger, at least, was not without enterprise. To begin with, they had the episcopal manor of Gogarth on lease throughout the period; like the tithes, the income from it does not appear in the valuations, but an undated valuation and rental of the Caernarvonshire estate accounts for rents of £9. 4s. 8d. and a chief rent of £7. 15s. from it.⁹⁰ In 1540 the township of Gogarth and various others which formed part of the manor were leased by bishop Bird to Thomas Mostyn's mother-in-law Dame Jane Griffith for 44 years at an annual rent of £12. 13s. 4d. and in 1547 she assigned the lease to Thomas who himself leased the manor from bishop Bulkeley, this time for 300 years at an annual rent of £13. 6s. 8d.⁹¹ After Thomas's death these leases passed to his second son Richard who eventually surrendered them and obtained a new one which somehow came into the possession of his elder brother William who in 1573 sued Richard in the Council in the Marches, claiming half the manor; among the Bangor diocesan archives there is a volume containing abstracts of various leases to the Mostyns along with an account of the transactions written by bishop Henry Rowlands which suggests that neither William nor his son Sir Thomas had acted altogether honourably in the matter.⁹² In 1600 bishop Rowlands leased the manor to Roger Mostyn for three lives at an annual rent of £16 and a fine of £160, an action which he regretted;⁹³ a new one was granted in 1627 at the same rent and yet another in 1642 for the same term and rent and a fine of £400.⁹⁴

89. T. Jones Pierce, *Op. cit.*, pp. 374, 376.

90. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5427 A.

91. N.L.W. Thorne 40, 249, 287.

92. N.L.W. Church in Wales Records, B/MISC.VOLS/31; the Gogarth transactions are described in Chapter VIII below.

93. N.L.W. Thorne 227; B/MISC.VOLS./31, f. 10.

94. N.L.W. Thorne 248, 190; no fine is specified in the latter lease but Thorne 182 is the receipt for it.

But, apart from the estate itself, it was the coal mines which were the most profitable of the Mostyns' activities. There was a sea-coal mine at Mostyn worth five shillings a year as early as 1294 and there are several fifteenth-century references to coal being worked there.⁹⁵ The coal mines had been leased by the crown to Richard Mason for 21 years in 1594 and in 1602 he and Thomas Cowper assigned the lease to Roger Mostyn for £70;⁹⁶ a few months later Roger assigned the lease to his father.⁹⁷ Two Exchequer actions shed some light on the family's mining activities; the first was brought in 1603-4 by Sir John Egerton against Sir Thomas and Roger and the second in 1604-5 by Roger against Egerton, Piers Mostyn of Talacre and others.⁹⁸ Egerton claimed that the crown lease of the manor to Sir Thomas and his son did not include any coal mines or veins and he accused them of, among other things, digging coals on the king's waste, claiming it to be their own land. In their answer the defendants denied Egerton's charges, claimed that the land in question was part of the manor and therefore included in the lease, and complained that Piers Mostyn and his associates had been digging coal from under Morfa Llinegr and had raised and sold an unspecified amount worth about 2s. 8d. a ton; they added that there were various mines and coal veins on their own lands which they worked. In the second action Roger maintained that Mason's lease to him had corrected the anomalous situation under which one person held the manor and another the coal workings, both on crown leases. His complaint was that Egerton and the other defendants had entered on the waste of the manor and the coal measures there with engines, tools, and instruments and had dug about 2,000 tons of coal; they had also sunk a new pit and the workings, about 300 yards long and 40 yards wide, had been extended under the lands of the manor. Here they had raised another 2,000 tons, sold it and kept the profit.

95. N.L.W. Bettisfield 1489: copy of extent of Mostyn 1294, in P.R.O.; e.g. P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/7 (1409-10).

96. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6935; a similar document at Hawarden (Clwyd R.O., D/M/871) states the consideration as £80.

97. Clwyd R.O. D/M/872.

98. P.R.O. E112/149/35, 33 (Flintshire); the two actions are discussed in detail in Chapter VIII of this study which deals with litigation.

These actions show the importance of the Mostyn coal workings at this time; other figures suggest that the total of 4,000 tons was a considerable exaggeration, intended to add substance to the complaint, but the very fact of litigation indicates coal-mining at Mostyn was profitable. It has been suggested that Piers Mostyn the younger of Talacre was the first to take serious steps to exploit the deposits and that it was the fact that his kinsmen of Mostyn were working those on the lands leased from the crown that aroused his hostility and led to the encroachment.⁹⁹ Three new pits had been dug on the Mostyn wastes and more than 100 tons were being exported by sea each year;¹⁰⁰ in July, 1600, for example, the Searcher of Beaumaris carried 24 tons of coal from there to her home port.¹⁰¹ The mines continued to expand during the century; in 1616 a special commission was issued out of the Exchequer to find by what name the measure by which coal was exported from the port of Chester was called and how many gallons it contained.¹⁰² Edward Ithell of Mostyn was appointed by his master Sir Thomas Mostyn to see that coal dug at his three pits was measured by the barrel and he stated in his deposition that he had measured 100 tons for shipment in the space of a month; there were eight barrels to the ton. This expansion probably continued until the outbreak of the Civil War. Chester was dependent on Flintshire coal and there was an extensive export trade to Ireland for which all the coal-producing areas of the west coast were competing;¹⁰³ transport costs from Ayrshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, Flintshire and Pembrokeshire were roughly equal so that the contest for the Dublin market was fairly evenly balanced during the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1630 Liverpool exported half the total amount shipped from the Flintshire coalfield but it was West Cumberland, exporting from Workington and Whitehaven, that eventually won. The century that ended in 1640 had seen a great rise in coal production; the high price of timber and the

99. W. Rees, Industry before the Industrial Revolution (1968), I, p. 74.

100. *Ibid.*

101. E. A. Lewis, ed., Welsh Port Books, 1550-1603 (1927), p. 290.

102. P.R.O. E178/3648; J. V. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry (1966), I, pp. 55-6.

103. A. H. Dodd, 'The North Wales coal industry during the Industrial Revolution' in Arch. Camb., 1929, p. 199; Nef, Op. cit., p. 199.

development of new industries in addition to domestic needs meant a vast expansion in demand and it is against this background that the exploitation of the Mostyn deposits needs to be considered.¹⁰⁴ One problem at Mostyn was methane gas, the dreaded fire-damp, in the workings; it was first met with when a new pit was being sunk about 1640.¹⁰⁵ In 1677 when Roger Mostyn, the younger son of the first baronet, sent an account of the colliery to the Royal Society, the pits were all between 40 and 60 yards deep and an engine was needed to drain them.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately no early documents relating to the Mostyn colliery have survived, either in the family papers or in the archives taken over by the National Coal Board in 1947, but there can be no doubt that from the early seventeenth century onwards the profits from the coal mines made a more than useful addition to the income from the Mostyn estate and laid the foundations of further expansion. Nor were the Mostyns the only North Wales family to take advantage of the coal deposits on their estates; the Gwysaney family did the same thing on a smaller scale, as did Sir Thomas Myddelton at Chirk.¹⁰⁷

In addition to working the coal deposits the Mostyns had other mineral interests. Flintshire was rich in lead and in the reign of Charles II Sir Roger's grandson and namesake, the first baronet, had several lead mines and a large furnace to smelt the ore.¹⁰⁸ There are no references to lead-mining at this time among the family papers but in 1633 Sir Roger was the defendant in a Chancery suit over lead-mining rights at Mostyn.¹⁰⁹ The brother-in-law of the plaintiffs Hugh and Henry Roberts had a lead mine there; in 1613 the crown had leased the lead mines in the commotes of Coleshill and Rhuddlan to Richard Gwyn, one of Prince Henry's huntsmen (he subsequently assigned the lease to Richard Grosvenor of Eaton

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104. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714 (1969), p. 28; J. Clapham, A Concise Economic History of Britain (1957), p. 228.
105. R. L. Galloway, Annals of Coal-Mining and the Coal Trade (1898), I, p. 220.
106. Nef, Op. cit., p. 55 n.
107. G. A. Usher, Gwysaney and Owston, p. 31; G. R. Thomas, 'Sir Thomas Myddelton, 1586-1666', pp. 349-59; A. H. Dodd, The Industrial Revolution in North Wales (2nd. edn. 1951), p. 18. For references to other Deeside collieries see P.R.O. E178/3648.
108. A. H. Dodd, The Industrial Revolution in North Wales, pp. 18-9; the bellows were worked by a water wheel.
109. P.R.O. C3/413/79.

and William Dymock of Willington)¹¹⁰ but Sir Roger 'being a man of great power and Comaund in the said Countie of Flint' had got hold of the crown lease and since the lead ore was a source of profit he was now claiming it by virtue of the grant to him of the manor and lordship of Mostyn. He had proceeded against the plaintiffs at the Great Sessions and won his case since witnesses would not testify on their behalf for fear of him. Unfortunately only the bill has survived but it does suggest that Sir Roger was always ready to add to his income.

Thus the Mostyns drew their income from the profits of demesne farming, rents and fines, coal-mining and possibly lead-mining. There are also occasional references to other activities as in 1623 when Sir Roger and Sir John Wynn planned a joint fishing venture;¹¹¹ this met with no success since Sir John's boat was badly damaged in a storm. In view of the lack of material it is impossible to estimate the extent of the wealth of the Mostyns; but when Sir Roger's grandson made his peace with the Parliamentary authorities in 1648 for his part in the Civil War he was fined one-tenth of the value of his estate which amounted to £852.¹¹² This figure was based on the total rental of the estate over a period of 20 years, the fine being equal to two years' purchase;¹¹³ of course, the annual rent income was a good deal more than £426, even if other sources of revenue are not taken into consideration, and this suggests that such figures were often an underestimate. It is also worth remembering that under the terms of Sir Roger's will his younger sons had a life interest in the various Anglesey estates.¹¹⁴

Although it is impossible to make any positive statements about the wealth of the Mostyns during the period under review, there is no doubt that they were

110. The lease is mentioned in T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, ed., Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales in tempore James I (1955), p. 202, where Grosvenor and Dymock brought an action against several people for unlawful intrusion and entry into the mines.

111. C.W.P. 1460-2.

112. Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, III, p. 1666.

113. E. L. Klotz & G. Davies, 'The wealth of Royalist peers and baronets during the Puritan Revolution' in E.H.R., lviii (1943), p. 218.

114. On the dorse of. (Bangor) Mostyn 5492, which is a rental of lands in Treuddyn, there is a rough statement of assets and liabilities. The Anglesey and Caernarvonshire lands are excluded, which suggests a date after 1642 and the surplus of income over liabilities is about £550 which suggests that this may be a draft inventory for submission to the Committee.

not only well-off but enjoyed a more convenient financial position than many of their neighbours. One of the worst problems which faced contemporary landowners, however careful they might be, was the regular shortage of ready cash. This was bound up with the agricultural year; the rents came in twice a year, usually at the beginning of May and the beginning of November, and other income came during the selling season. At other times ready money might be hard to come by, which explains the role of the drovers as bankers, carrying out commissions in London with the money earned from the sale of cattle.¹¹⁵ One way of building up a reserve was the purchase of plate which could be turned into cash if the need arose; there are inventories of the plate at Mostyn and Gloddaith in 1622 and 1630 and in the latter year it amounted to 1,699 ounces.¹¹⁶ But Sir Roger, in particular, never seems to have been short of money. He was buying land regularly from the 1590s onwards and in his will he provided for all his sons and left legacies totalling £514. 8s. 8d.; he also owned a coach. A few brief accounts point to the same conclusion; between 1619 and 1622 a total of £305. 2s. 8d. was spent, largely on his sons Thomas, John and William on journeys to London and to Cambridge where they were undergraduates.¹¹⁷ Some of this was paid directly to the sons or to their escort and some was carried by kinsmen or friends or by the carrier; at Easter, 1626, for example, two gold pieces were sent to William at Cambridge by the Anglesey carrier. There are further details of expenditure in 1626-7; during these two years a total of £85. 6s. in cash was sent to William who was by this time senior fellow of St. Johns.¹¹⁸ These accounts are too few in number to be the basis of any general statements about Sir Roger's affairs but they do show that, unlike many of his contemporaries, he always had considerable sums to hand. The income from the coal mines was regular and did not depend on the agricultural time table, which may help to account for the amount of ready cash in

115. A. H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales, pp. 22-3.

116. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 5487.

117. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, ff. 73b, 74a, 75a-b.

118. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

Sir Roger's possession. He may have lent money on occasion; certainly when his father-in-law Sir John Wynn was in difficulties in 1623 he promised him the use of £1,000, which he was shortly to receive as part of his daughter-in-law's marriage portion, and in a letter to his father Owen Wynn commented on Sir Roger's action in lending both the money and his house at Gloddaith.¹¹⁹ His credit, too, was good; in December, 1621, Sir John was short of money, since rents were slow to come in, and he was trying to raise a loan in London. Owen wrote and told him that money was scarce and unless Sir Roger Mostyn stood surety for them in the city it would not be sent as far as Wales.¹²⁰

All these signs point to wealth and financial prudence. It was unusual for gentry to have large sums of money in hand and the family historian regarded it as worthy of note that the third Sir Richard Bulkeley had 'allwayes a great stocke of ready money lying in his chest'.¹²¹ By 1642 there can be no doubt that the Mostyns were among the wealthiest families in North Wales and that their position was to a large extent due to the wise stewardship of Sir Roger during a period of prosperity; nor is it without significance that he made extensive alterations to Mostyn itself. In view of this it is particularly unfortunate that so many of the family papers have not survived and that a detailed examination of the management of the estate and of the family's finances is therefore impossible.

119. C.W.P. 1462, 1478.

120. C.W.P. 993.

121. E. Gwynne Jones, ed., 'History of the Bulkeley Family (N.L.W. MS.9080E)' in Trans. A.A.S., 1948, p. 22. The wealth of the gentry is also discussed by W. Ogwen Williams, 'The Anglesey gentry as business men in Tudor and Stuart times' in Trans. A.A.S., 1948, pp. 101-5.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OFFICE, POLITICS AND PUBLIC LIFE

The period following the Union is generally taken to be that of the apotheosis of the Welsh county gentry during which they finally gained control of the political and administrative system, particularly through parliamentary representation and membership of the Commission of the Peace. Of course, Welshmen had held office, especially at the lower levels of both principality and marcher administrations, ever since 1282, as the earlier chapters of this study show, and during the second half of the fifteenth century they found their way into many key offices; this development is illustrated by the rise of the family of Dinefwr in the south and that of Penrhyn in the north. But it was the Union which set the seal on their control of the counties, old and new, which they ruled in quarter sessions and which they represented at Westminster.¹ Like other families, the Mostyns played an active part in this new world, a part which is examined in this chapter.

In the holding of office after 1536 there was, as in England, a cursum honorum, the crown of which was to be knight of the shire, a distinction generally reached after being justice and sheriff;² to be custos rotulorum or senior justice, deputy-lieutenant, and a member of the Council in the Marches were also important. Contemporary poets were well aware of the importance of these offices and in an awdl foliant to Sir Thomas Mostyn Huw Machno, to name just one example, commented on his official career, referring to his membership of the Council and of the county bench, to his having been sheriff, to his deputy-lieutenantship, and to his being custos rotulorum of Caernarvonshire.³ There were good reasons for seeking and holding office; the gentry were the natural leaders of the community, just as their medieval predecessors had been. Like them they stood at the centre

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1. This topic is discussed in detail in W. Ogwen Williams, Tudor Gwynedd (1958), pp. 18-23; for the situation in South Wales see Ralph A. Griffiths, The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages, I (1972), especially pp. 1-72.
 2. J. E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (1949), p. 23.
 3. Dan Lynn James, 'Bywyd a gwaith Huw Machno', pp. 31-2.

of a web of relationships and obligations and inclusion in the Commission of the Peace and similar distinctions was the recognition they expected from the crown of their local power and influence; these set the seal of royal approval on their standing and consecrated their position as the rulers of the county. And they were ready to take full advantage of the new system established in 1536 and to play the part of the English gentleman (in the sense of Sir Thomas Smith's hackneyed phrase), while at the same time retaining their traditional attributes.⁴ The system had certainly changed; during the sixteenth century the office of justice of the peace developed in such a way as to give it 'a form quite distinct from the executive functions performed by Welshmen in the pre-Union period'.⁵ There was also some money to be made; a justice was allowed four shillings daily when attending quarter sessions and the office of muster-master was certainly not without profit.⁶ Finally there was one more powerful, if negative, reason for seeking office; no landowner would wish to have his neighbours exercising authority over his tenants.⁷

The public activities of the Mostyns, like those of most families, fall into two categories, namely service in parliament and county government. Unfortunately there is little material among the family papers since surviving correspondence only dates from the Restoration. For the first Thomas, William, and Sir Thomas there is very little evidence indeed and most of the personal information about Sir Roger is contained in the Gwydir correspondence. Those members of the family who sat in the Commons made little impact there. The first of the senior line to be elected was William Mostyn who sat for Flintshire in the parliaments of 1553 and 1554, although Piers Mostyn of Talacre had represented the county in the parliament of 1544-5.⁸ William's membership of these two parliaments may have been a consequence of his relationship with the earl of Pembroke who had made his

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4. A. H. Dodd, Life in Elizabethan England (1961), p. 32.
 5. H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540-1640, p. 136.
 6. Ibid., p. 138.
 7. J. E. Neale, Op. cit., p. 23.
 8. Return of Members of Parliament, I, pp. 388, 392, xxxv.

peace with Mary Tudor after the fall of Northumberland;⁹ the parliaments themselves put an end to the religious changes of the reign of Edward VI and returned the kingdom to the Roman obedience.¹⁰ He sat again for the county in the parliament of 1572 and remained a member until his death in 1576.¹¹ There is no record of his having played any part in the House but it is possible that he took a leading role on one occasion. This parliament, besides being the one in which Peter Wentworth first made his mark, was the one which in 1572 enacted the first Poor Law.¹² This act provided severe penalties against vagrants, including minstrels, and many Welsh members must have feared that it could apply to bards on their rounds.¹³ An attempt was made to modify the position of minstrels and it was agreed that those with licences from justices of the peace as well as those belonging to magnates' households should be excluded from the provisions of the bill.¹⁴ An amendment concerning Welsh minstrels was defeated but the fact that it was moved suggests that the Welsh members had been working on behalf of the bardic order.¹⁵ When the key part played by William Mostyn at the second Caerwys eisteddfod is remembered, along with the fact that he was a member of this parliament, it must seem likely that he was one of the members concerned with the amendment.

William was succeeded in the seat by his heir Thomas who retained it until the dissolution of the parliament in 1583;¹⁶ his parliamentary career was uneventful and he never sat in the House again. The next member of the family to represent the county was his son Sir Roger who sat in the parliament of 1621.¹⁷

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9. For William's connection with Pembroke see History of the Gwydir Family, p. 69.
 10. J. D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, pp. 544, 548-9.
 11. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. 412.
 12. J. B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth (1936), p. 184.
 13. Ibid., p. 244; A. H. Dodd, Life in Elizabethan England, pp. 119-20.
 14. Simwnt Fychan's reference to wearing the Mostyn livery may be significant in this context (D. J. Bowen, 'Agweddau ar ganu'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg' in Trans. Cymm., 1969, p. 333; Gwyn Thomas, Eisteddfodau Caerwys (1968), p. 41).
 15. A. H. Dodd, 'Wales's parliamentary apprenticeship (1536-1625)' in Trans. Cymm., 1942, p. 14; Commons Journals, I, p. 98.
 16. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. xxxv.
 17. Ibid., p. iii.

This was, from the Welsh point of view, a parliament of considerable interest; it saw the great attack on monopolies, including that of the Shrewsbury drapers, and the fall of Francis Bacon and consequent rise to power of John Williams, but Sir Roger took no active part in its proceedings.¹⁸ By this time Flintshire politics were so organised that the representation of the county was shared by the four principal families, the Mostyns, the Pulestons, the Hammers, and the Trevors, who undertook it in turn.¹⁹ Sir Roger's obvious lack of interest in his parliamentary duties may have been due to some distaste for the office of knight of the shire and for London, but, in the circumstances, if it was his turn to represent the county he was obliged to do so. This arrangement may also explain why Thomas succeeded his father in 1576.

Flintshire parliamentary politics, then, were comparatively straightforward. The representative of the family whose turn it was would be returned and under these conditions any challenge was more than a threat to the status quo; it was a deliberate affront to the family concerned. But the political situation in Caernarvonshire, where the Gloddaith estate gave the Mostyns interest and influence, was not nearly so clear-cut. On 3 November, 1620, Sir Roger's kinsman Thomas Powell wrote to him about the forthcoming election.²⁰ His brother-in-law Sir Richard Wynn intended to stand for the county, which he had represented in the previous parliament, against John Griffith of Cefnamwlch although if Sir William Maurice of Clennau should stand he would not challenge him but would try for the borough seat; this latter had been refused by Sir William Jones and offered to Sir Richard. But Jones now regretted his refusal and therefore would not support Gwydir. This refers, of course, to the great Caernarvonshire election of 1620, a contest which brought to a head the rivalry between the gentry of the northern part of the county who had so many contacts with the outside world and who looked to Gwydir for leadership, and the squires of Llŷn and Eifionydd, the remoteness of

18. The role of the Welsh members in this parliament is discussed by A. H. Dodd in Trans. Cymm., 1942, pp. 40-58.

19. A. H. Dodd, 'Flintshire politics in the seventeenth century' in Journ. Flints. Hist. Soc., XIV (1952-3), p. 28.

20. N.L.W. 9057/916.

of whose estates tended to make them more conservative and whose candidate John Griffith was.²¹ Divisions were too deep to be settled by a preliminary canvass which could lead to the emergence of an agreed candidate and thus avoid a poll, to resort to which generally meant that the normal pattern of politics in a Welsh county had broken down since these matters, as in Flintshire, were generally settled between the leading families if no single one was predominant. The result of the election was a victory for Cefnamwlch; the challenge to Gwydir had succeeded and Sir John Wynn, not surprisingly, felt bitter.

Sir Roger appears to have stood aside; none of the letters relating to the election are from him and it is not difficult to understand why. The Gloddaith estate gave him an interest in the fate of the Caernarvonshire seat and one might have expected him to throw his weight and worldly wisdom behind his brother-in-law. On the other hand, however, he was related to both the Glynllifon and Cefnamwlch families; his great-aunt Dorothy Mostyn had married into the latter and he had therefore to tread very warily indeed. Sir John wrote in December, 1620, to his cousin Simon Parry, asking for his answers to certain questions about the election;²² Parry replied that he was much beholden to John Griffith, implying that he would support him, and he added that Griffith had a very great respect for Sir Roger Mostyn, whose presence at the election might do much good, which suggests that Sir Roger could possibly persuade Griffith to stand down. John Bodwrda, on whom Griffith relied greatly, could not be ignorant of his respect for Sir Roger and if Sir Roger went to the poll and felt that Parry's presence would help, he would go. Some later letters from Sir John suggest that Sir Roger may have supported Griffith, although this could be no more than sour grapes. Writing to his son Owen on 20 March, 1621, he inveighed against Griffith, saying that he had powerful friends, among them being the Trevors, the Thelwalls, and Sir William Jones, the leading man in Caernarvonshire, whose father had been Sir

21. The election is discussed by E. Gwynne Jones, 'County politics and electioneering, 1558-1625' in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc., 1939, pp. 37, 42-5; see also 'The Wynn family and estate', pp. 376-9.

22. N.L.W. 9057/930.

John's particular friend.²³ He also had the support of Sir Richard Bulkeley and through Simon Parry he had even drawn away Sir Roger Mostyn. Sir John Bodvel, the other son-in-law, had also gone over to the enemy. This may, of course, be the bitterness of a beaten man who could not stomach defeat in his own territory, but it does suggest that John Griffith and his faction had widespread support.

The next parliament was that of 1624 and the preliminary discussions started early. On 2 December, 1623, Owen Wynn wrote to his father, who was still at Gloddaith, to give him the latest news.²⁴ He had been to the funeral of David Owen Tudor at Penmynydd and had discussed the Anglesey seat with Sir Thomas Holland and others.²⁵ They promised John Mostyn their support; this suggests that soundings had already been taken although a funeral was a convenient occasion at which to discuss matters of this kind. However, they feared that should Sir Sackville Trevor stand he would be successful, since he lived in the county.²⁶ Sir Thomas Holland advised Sir Roger to ask Sir James Whitelock to write to the justices on John's behalf, while Sir John Bodvel would do what he could for him at the next quarter sessions. Owen also discussed the two Caernarvonshire seats; the county was likely to go to Sir John's opponents again, although he suggested that Whitelock should write on behalf of young Sir Thomas Mostyn who would stand a good chance of success, while the borough seat was assured to Owen himself or to his brother William. He advised his father not to let himself be persuaded to stand, adding 'I find the countrey distastfull of us & therefore noe wise parte to put our selves into their hands, for matters of credditt anie more'. This was the way in which elections were settled and the letters which follow also discuss electoral possibilities.

23. C.W.P. 942, 1000.

24. N.L.W. 9059/1172. This letter must be misdated since Owen referred to the funeral having taken place on New Year's Day; the correct date must therefore be 2 January, 1624.

25. Such a gathering at the funeral of the head of what had become an unimportant family may suggest that the history of the Anglesey Tudors gave them an esteem which their economic position did not merit.

26. Sir Sackville Trevor (d. c1633) lived at Plas Newydd which came into his possession through his marriage to the widow of Sir Henry Bagnal; for details of his naval career see Bywgraffiadur, pp. 921-2.

On 24 December Sir Richard Wynn wrote from court to his father to say that he wished his brother Henry to stand for Merioneth and Sir Thomas Mostyn for Flintshire; Sir Peter Mutton had been advised to stand for Caernarvonshire.²⁷ He wrote again on 3 January to say that the writs had gone out and that Sir Thomas Mostyn and Sir John Hanmer were both standing for Flintshire and two days later Sir Roger wrote to Sir John on the same subject.²⁸ He had heard that both Thomas and John wished to stand for the county although he and the rest of the Flintshire gentry had promised to support Sir John Hanmer whose turn it presumably was. Even if the seat were in his gift he would not wish Thomas to stand; he would be drawn to live in London and his wife in the country and he might well fall into bad company. Moreover, had Thomas's father-in-law Sir James Whitelock wished to see him in parliament he would have found him a borough seat somewhere else. John was welcome to seek a seat but his best course would be to rely on Sir Richard Bulkeley's influence in Anglesey; if this seat was not to be had without a contest, however, it was not worth having. He went on to advise Sir John against being drawn into the Caernarvonshire election and added he had heard such rumours of what the new parliament was to do that he would not wish himself or any of his friends to be a member of it. Nevertheless, he promised to ask Whitelock to write to the Anglesey and Caernarvonshire justices although he did not think it would do much good.

This is an interesting letter which suggests that for the leaders of local society a contested election was something to be avoided at all costs. The reason for this was that such a contest would cause a rift in a group of families which were closely related; in Flintshire there was also the unwritten agreement that the leading houses should hold the seat in rotation and to challenge this convention would be a gross breach of good manners if nothing more.²⁹ The prospect of defeat was unpalatable for any family and especially for the Mostyns.

27. C.W.P. 1177, 1178.

28. C.W.P. 1185; N.L.W. 9059/1186, reproduced in Appendix E (8) below.

29. A. H. Dodd in Journ. Flints. Hist. Soc., XIV, p. 28; id., Studies in Stuart Wales (1952), p. 178.

Finally there was the danger that the winner of a contested election could not represent the whole county community; the medieval concept of the community was not yet dead and unanimity was preferable to majorities and minorities. In fact John Mostyn was returned for Anglesey while Sir Thomas's plans came to nothing;³⁰ John's membership probably owed much to the fact that he was in the service of the Lord Keeper. According to Owen Wynn, Rowland White was rather offended that John had been elected instead of him;³¹ a few months later he informed his father that, in accordance with the usual practice in such matters, Jack Mostyn was expected to thank the gentry of Anglesey publicly for his election when they were assembled at Beaumaris for the assizes and asked him to pass the message on.³²

This parliament was brought to an end by the death of James I early in 1625. John Mostyn had not distinguished himself in it and he did not stand again. In a letter to Sir John Wynn dated 15 April, 1625, his father said that the Anglesey gentry were supporting Sir Sackville Trevor against John, although the Lord Keeper wished him to retain the seat;³³ in the circumstances he could see no point in John standing unless he had support in the county. If such support were to materialise he would be prepared to contest the election and 'put it to the plunge' since the writ had been sent to him. Sir Thomas seems once again to have been interested in representing Flintshire; on 3 April he wrote to Robert Davies of Gwysaney, drawing his attention to the forthcoming election and asking him for his support and that of his friends, but the bid came to nothing.³⁴ His father and the rest of the county gentry had already agreed to support Sir John Trevor.³⁵

John Mostyn was elected to parliament for Flintshire in March, 1640.³⁶ The

30. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. 462.

31. C.W.P. 1198.

32. C.W.P. 1242; in an undated letter written soon afterwards Owen informed his father that it was not Sir Roger's wish that his son should thank the gentlemen of Anglesey since he felt that they had no one else to fill the place, but he undertook to thank them himself in case they should take offence (C.W.P. 1276).

33. N.L.W. 9060/1324. The Lord Keeper was also anxious that Sir John would do what he could to ensure the election of friends for Caernarvonshire and Merioneth.

34. N.L.W. Davies of Gwysaney 20

35. N.L.W. 9060/1324.

36. Return of Members of Parliament, I, p. 484.

following October he was re-elected for the same seat to the Long Parliament.³⁷ his name appears occasionally in connection with its activities. One source lists him as one of those who, in November, 1640, offered his personal bond as security for finding the £100,000 needed to pay off the Scottish army;³⁸ he offered £1,000. In November, 1641, he testified against Dr. John Cosin, dean of Peterborough and later bishop of Durham, who was accused of saying that the king was not head of the church.³⁹ In September, 1641, he had been put on a committee to consider which items of Irish business should be passed to Dublin for decision and which should not and on 16 December he was given leave of absence from the House, possibly on account of his elder brother's death.⁴⁰ He attended the Oxford parliament early in 1643 and thus threw in his lot with the king;⁴¹ on 5 February, 1644, he was expelled from the House, along with a number of other members, on account of his desertion to the royalist cause.⁴²

Thus, although members of the Mostyn family sat in several parliaments during the period, they do not seem to have been enthusiastic parliamentarians. Membership was an obligation to be discharged when their turn came round, rather than an opportunity to play an active part in the affairs of the realm and there must have been many others who felt as they did. For many the advantages of membership were largely social; when the Commons met, gentlemen from all over the realm assembled at Westminster and discussed affairs of state both publicly and privately. Men like the Mostyns were thus brought into contact with a wider world and this inevitably affected their outlook and attitudes as well as adding

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37. Ibid., p. 498; for brief details of his career see M. F. Keeler, The Long Parliament, 1640-1641; a biographical study of its members (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 281.
38. W. Notestein, ed., The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the beginning of the Long Parliament to the opening of the trial of the Earl of Strafford (1923), p. 52; A. H. Dodd, 'Wales in the parliaments of Charles I', II, in Trans. Cymm., 1946-7, pp. 74-5.
39. W. Notestein, Op. cit., p. 541; he said that Cosin had said 'that the King was nott supreme head of the Church off England. And that the King had noe more to doe with excommunication then the boy that rubbs down his horses Heeles'. Cosin's troubles, which stemmed from his ritualistic activities at Durham and Cambridge, are described in D.N.B. XII, pp. 264-71.
40. Commons Journals, II, pp. 279, 342; his fellow-members on the committee included Pym, Cromwell and Sir Simonds D'Ewes.
41. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 196.
42. Commons Journals, III, p. 389.

to their influence within their own counties. Attitudes changed and minds were broadened; the gentry of North Wales learned much from their English counterparts and they were also able to find suitable matches and openings for their sons through the contacts they made at Westminster.⁴³

Sir Roger seems to have held the view that the place of a landowner was on his estate, as witness his opposition to his heir's attempt to stand for parliament; this may also explain his own lack of interest in parliamentary service. But when it came to local government the Mostyns showed far greater enthusiasm and played a prominent part in county affairs. The highest county office in the middle ages had been that of sheriff but under the terms of the act of 1542 the office was made an annual one as it was in England.⁴⁴ As a result it gradually became less important. Thomas Mostyn was sheriff of Anglesey in 1553-4 but he never held the office in Flintshire although he was one of the three nominated for it more than once.⁴⁵ William was sheriff of Denbighshire in 1551-2, of Flintshire in 1560-1, 1565-6 and 1570-1 and of Caernarvonshire in 1567-8.⁴⁶ The future Sir Thomas was sheriff of Anglesey twice, in 1574-5 and 1587-8, of Caernarvonshire in 1583-4 and of Flintshire in 1577-8; his heir held the same office in Flintshire in 1608-9.⁴⁷ This evidence is an indication of the diminished importance of the shrievalty and the fact that Roger Mostyn held it during his father's lifetime may be a sign that the family had outgrown it. It was tending to become an office for the gentry of the second rank and once one of the leading houses had confirmed its position by holding it once in each generation it was satisfied. It could be a burdensome office, without real power

43. E. Gwynne Jones in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc., 1939, p. 40.

44. Ivor Bowen, The Statutes of Wales (1908), pp. 114-5.

45. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, p. 236; Letters & Papers, Henry VIII, XVI (1540-1), p. 644; C.P.R., 1553, p. 387 (for 1552-3 when his brother Piers was chosen).

46. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, pp. 251, 248, 254; the question of the Denbighshire shrievalty in 1551-2 is discussed in Chapter IV.

47. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, pp. 236, 248, 254; the Roger Mostyn who was sheriff of Anglesey in 1589-90 was probably Sir Thomas's uncle. In 1639 William Wynn told his brother Maurice that Thomas Mostyn, Sir Roger's eldest son, had been chosen for Flintshire but had been got off (C.W.P. 1655).

and without enough remuneration to compensate for the trouble.⁴⁸ And it was with other offices, especially those of justice of the peace and deputy-lieutenant, that local power and influence now lay; Tudor legislation meant that the men who had been sheriffs before 1542 were now justices and under the act of 1536 which first provided for the appointment of justices of the peace in Wales the sheriff was put at their service.⁴⁹

Local government or, more accurately, the local representation of central government, could involve a good deal more than service as sheriff, justice or deputy-lieutenant. In 1551 Thomas Mostyn was appointed one of the commissioners to collect the subsidy in Flintshire, Caernarvonshire, and Anglesey.⁵⁰ William Mostyn served in various commissions appointed by the Council at Ludlow and duties were laid on Sir Thomas from time to time;⁵¹ in February, 1601, for example, he was one of the three men commissioned to arrest John Salusbury and Peter Wynne after the Essex revolt.⁵² Similar functions fell to the lot of Sir Roger; in January, 1622, Sir Richard Wynn informed his father that commissioners had been appointed for Ireland and that Sir Roger would have one of them except that the Lord Keeper thought that the appointment would not have pleased him.⁵³

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48. H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540-1640, p. 189. The functions of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century sheriff are described in detail by T. G. Barnes, Somerset, 1625-1640; a county's government under the personal rule (1961), pp. 124-42; the sheriff could not act as a justice during his term, nor could he leave his county without the royal licence (*ibid.*, p. 172).
49. This is discussed by W. Ogwen Williams, Tudor Gwynedd, pp. 23-6.
50. C.P.R. 1553, p. 363; this might suggest that he was a justice for Anglesey and Caernarvonshire as well as Flintshire since Commissioners of Subsidies were drawn from the ranks of the leading justices (E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1625', p. 118).
51. In November, 1569, he was one of those made responsible for the safe custody of the county armour and the following March he was a commissioner for taking the muster although he was unable, because of illness, to appear before the Council the following June to certify that the muster had been taken. In January, 1574, he was in a commission to investigate the misapplication of food supplies intended for the earl of Essex in Ireland and the following November he was in one to take recognisances from tanners (Flenley, Register, pp. 60, 69, 72-3, 109, 124-7).
52. A.P.C. XXXI (1600-1601), p. 168.
53. C.W.P. 1002; this was a commission to investigate corruption in Ireland (M. Prestwich, Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts (1966), pp. 346-56).

In 1632 he, Henry Salusbury, and Robert Davies of Gwysaney were responsible for collecting fines from those who had not attended the coronation of Charles I or taken up knighthoods then.⁵⁴ This was, of course, one of Charles's extra-parliamentary expedients for raising money and it applied to all with annual incomes of £40 or over. It need hardly be added that compositions for knighthood were extremely unpopular among the gentry; the Flintshire commissioners found their task particularly difficult and reported to the Council that they had had to include men worth less than £40 a year since the demand for more money was so pressing. The historian of the Gwysaney family has aptly described this as 'the complaint of men caught in a cleft stick between manifest injustice and the impossible demands of bureaucracy' and it bears witness to the poverty of Flintshire at this time.⁵⁵

But the real road to local power lay in the Commission of the Peace and the lieutenancy. There is nothing to indicate whether Richard ap Hywel was among the first justices to be appointed in Flintshire but his standing must have made his inclusion likely. His sons Thomas and Piers were certainly in the first surviving list of county justices drawn up about 1540.⁵⁶ It was some time before William, who inherited the estate in 1558, joined the county bench, his first mention in the Flintshire commission being about 1573, and there is no evidence of Thomas or William having served for Caernarvonshire.⁵⁷ William's son, the future Sir Thomas, was the first of whose active participation in local government there is evidence. He first appeared in the Commission of the Peace for Flintshire in 1579 and he remained in it until his death in 1618, apart from two intervals of a year each in 1582 and 1599.⁵⁸ He was a justice for Caernarvonshire by 1581 and he became custos rotulorum of that county in 1596.⁵⁹

54. G. A. Usher, Gwysaney and Owston, p. 33.

55. G. A. Usher, Op. et loc. cit.

56. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, p. 70.

57. Ibid., p. 72; in 1565 he and his uncle Piers were in a commission to put down pirates (A.P.C. VII (1558-1570), p. 286).

58. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, pp. 73-8.

59. Flenley, Register, p. 213; E. Breese, Kalendars of Gwynedd (1873), p. 26. He may, however, have become custos earlier since he was described as such in P.R.O. S.P.12/200/31.

In 1592 he was among the Flintshire and Caernarvonshire magistrates empowered to take the oaths of those members of the commission in the two counties who had not yet been sworn.⁶⁰

It was in his capacity as a justice for Caernarvonshire that Sir Thomas won himself a small footnote in the religious history of Wales. The Mostyns of Mostyn did not share the Catholic sympathies of their Talacre kinsmen although William's name appeared in a list of supposed supporters of Mary, Queen of Scots, drawn up by her partisans in 1574.⁶¹ But, perhaps because of their close links with Catholic families, they do not seem to have gone out of their way to enforce the penal laws although this was one of the responsibilities of the justices of the peace. In Creuddyn the Pugh family of Penrhyn Creuddyn, who were notorious recusants, lived near Gloddaith but it has been said of Sir Thomas Mostyn that he 'could be relied upon to be at least discreet if not actually sympathetic'.⁶² This made an episode which occurred about 1582 all the more unfortunate. Creuddyn was an important rendezvous for missionary priests and the Douai priest John Bennett, a Flintshire man, happened to be passing near Gloddaith. He had left the road and was walking through a field when Thomas Mostyn saw and challenged him. Bennett, being a truthful man, admitted that he was a priest, at which Thomas, described by the contemporary chronicler as 'a man not very rigid against Catholics but one that complied with the times' was obviously concerned, but since he was accompanied by a servant he felt obliged to arrest him and eventually handed him over to the custody of the bishop of St. Asaph.⁶³ Bennett was subsequently banished. Thomas might well have been concerned; in Wales, as in England, Catholic squires must often have reached a modus vivendi with their neighbours, refraining from flaunting their religion while the justices ignored what went on behind closed doors, but a priest could not be allowed to go free

60. A.P.C. XXIII (1592), p. 261.

61. J. B. Wainwright, 'Two lists of supposed adherents of Mary, queen of Scots' in Catholic Record Society, XIII Miscellanea VIII (1913), p. 110.

62. E. Gwynne Jones, 'Robert Pugh of Penrhyn Creuddyn' in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc., VII (1946), p. 13.

63. For a contemporary account of Bennett's arrest see D. Aneurin Thomas, The Welsh Elizabethan Catholic Martyrs: the trial documents of Saint Richard Gwyn and of the Venerable William Davies (1971), p. 44.

if a witness was present.

The Pughs of Penrhyn Creuddyn cannot be said to have refrained from flaunting their religion; a number of recusants were living under their protection in a cave on the Little Orme where was situated the famous secret Catholic printing press.⁶⁴ On 19 April, 1587, Dr. William Griffith of Caernarvon, one of the county justices and chancellor of Bangor cathedral, wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury informing him that a Creuddyn man had discovered twelve priests in a cave, two of them being armed.⁶⁵ The nearest justice, who happened to be Thomas Mostyn, was informed; he led a body of 40 men to the mouth of the cave but refused to go in, saying that the entrance was too narrow. A number of men, some of whom were his own retainers, were left to guard the entrance all night but by the morning all the birds had flown, the implication being that this had been with the connivance of the guards, none of whom had been called to account. The cave was found to be well-appointed, with panelling, an altar and a supply of arms; type was found scattered on the shore and this is the principal reference to the existence of the press. Dr. Griffith complained to the archbishop of Thomas's carelessness and lack of enthusiasm in the matter and the whole incident suggests that he, at least, had no intention of bringing too much pressure to bear on his recusant neighbours. But, lenient as he may have wished to be, Thomas could not escape his duties as a magistrate altogether; in 1592 he was one of those who examined the priest William Davies, later executed at Beaumaris.⁶⁶

The other important office was that of deputy-lieutenant. This was of comparatively recent origin in both Wales and England. The lord-lieutenant was the royal representative in each county who was responsible for its military organisation; it was not until after the Restoration that he also came to be the local representative of the government. From 1586 onwards the lord president of

64. The most recent account of the press is R. Geraint Gruffydd, Argraffwyr Cyntaf Cymru: gwasgau dirgel y Catholigion adeg Elisabeth (1972), pp. 8-10.

65. P.R.O. S.P.12/200/31.

66. D. Aneurin Thomas, Op. cit., p. 299.

of the Council in the Marches was automatically lord lieutenant of all the Welsh counties; he had previously carried out the functions of the office without the title. But as military demands became more pressing with the threat from Spain and the troubles in Ireland the duties of the office became too much for one man and local officials were made responsible for mustering and equipping the militia in each county;⁶⁷ William Mostyn had been one of the commissioners for Flintshire in 1570. After the appointment of the earl of Pembroke as lord president in 1586 deputy-lieutenants were appointed in each county; the first two in Flintshire were Thomas Mostyn and Roger Puleston and they were still in office in 1595.⁶⁸ Finally, in 1602, Sir Thomas was appointed a member of the supreme body in Welsh affairs, the Council in the Marches of Wales.⁶⁹ In July, 1606, he received a letter from Sir Richard Lewkenor, the chief justice of Chester, on Council business.⁷⁰ Lewkenor had been busy with suggested alterations in the powers of the Council under which the punishment of moral offences and the use of torture would be removed, civil actions retained and the punishment of riots and similar offences left to Star Chamber. The Council was also to sit in future in any of the four English border counties; this had so disgusted the lord president, Lord Zouch, that he had gone home in a huff, vowing not to remain in office.⁷¹ It has been suggested that this letter shows Sir Thomas to have been opposed to the use of torture and therefore a humane man but there is nothing in it to bear this out;⁷² Lewkenor was merely informing him of the proposals.

Sir Roger's name first appeared in the Flintshire commission in 1594; he

67. This is discussed by Penry Williams, The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I (1958), pp. 112-5. The lieutenancy and the work of the deputy lieutenants, especially under Charles I, in T. G. Barnes, Somerset, 1625-1640, pp. 98-123; see also E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1625' pp. 97-106.

68. George Owen, The Taylor's Cussion, pp. 36b, 37b.

69. H.M.C. Reports, XIII, App. IV, p. 249.

70. C.W.P. 404.

71. This business was bound up with the attack on the powers of the Council by the gentry of the four English border counties who wanted these powers confined to Wales; the affair is discussed by Penry Williams, 'The attack on the Council in the Marches, 1603-1642' in Trans. Cymm., 1961, pp. 2-5.

72. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 102-3.

out of it the following year but back in 1601 and thereafter.⁷³ He was a justice for Caernarvonshire by 1620.⁷⁴ There was nothing unusual in both father and son being in the same commission; there were a number of other examples, as Sir John Wynn pointed out in 1610, and, indeed, Sir Roger and his eldest son Sir Thomas were both justices for Flintshire from 1632 onwards.⁷⁵ He does not seem to have taken an active part in county affairs until after the death of his father in 1618, but once he had inherited the estate he became one of the most prominent figures in Flintshire. The county justices found themselves receiving letters from the Privy Council from time to time; in April, 1629, for example, their attention was drawn to the fact that a new enclosure at Ewloe wood had been pulled down and they had done nothing about it, so they were ordered to investigate the matter.⁷⁶ It may be significant that the letter was addressed to Sir Roger, the sheriff, and other Flintshire justices, which suggests that he was by now custos rotulorum.⁷⁷ In April, 1631, the Council despatched a further communication on the same topic to a group of justices which included Sir Roger and Sir Thomas.⁷⁸ The first quarter of the seventeenth century had seen a good deal of popular agitation against enclosure in England, especially in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire in 1607, but the situation was not as serious in Wales where the problems were the result of the 'rather sudden collapse of the physical and legal controls which had governed the management of the commons for centuries past'.⁷⁹

The Mostyn papers at one time included a volume of letters and circulars from the Privy Council and similar documents relating to county administration which,

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73. Handlist of Flintshire County Records, pp. 74-83.
74. E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1623', p. 198.
75. C.W.P. 532; Handlist of Flintshire County Records, pp. 81-3. Sir Thomas seems already to have been a justice in 1631 (note 78 below).
76. A.P.C. XLIV (1628-1629), no. 1236.
77. In his cywydd marwnad on Sir Roger Siôn Cain referred to his having been custos (N.L.W. Peniarth 116, p. 789).
78. A.P.C. XLVI (1630-1631), no. 859. Fences were still being destroyed and the justices were ordered to report on the action they had taken to prove that they were not guilty of connivance.
79. Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and engrossing' in Agrarian History, IV, pp. 232-6; T. Jones Pierce, 'Landlords in Wales: the nobility and gentry' in *ibid.*, p. 380.

one must assume, were retained by Sir Roger in his capacity as custos.⁸⁰ They give some indication of the kind of problems he and his fellow justices had to face and can be compared with the stream of communications from Whitehall which descend on local authorities today;⁸¹ they also shed considerable light on the functions and responsibilities of the deputy-lieutenants. Many are circulars from Westminster or Ludlow about militia matters, such as the order of 25 April, 1618, for the mustering of the trained bands within the Welsh counties, previous musters having left much to be desired;⁸² some, however, are of more particular interest. On 20 October, 1618, Sir Thomas Hanmer, John Conway, Sir Roger Mostyn, Robert Davies, and Sir George Puleston reported to the lord president that they had viewed the county arms and remedied all the defects although they had found it difficult to bring the horse up to strength 'by reason of the death and decay of divers gentlemen'.⁸³

From time to time there were drives against recusants, as in 1619 when the Council urged that they be pursued and the bishop of St. Asaph and the Flintshire justices were asked for returns.⁸⁴ In the same year there was some trouble, apparently the result of a clash of personalities, about the payment of the muster-master's fee.⁸⁵ But all this was overshadowed by the problems of the king's

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80. This volume is not among the Mostyn archives deposited at Bangor, nor was it sold with the Mostyn library in October, 1974, but N.L.W. 6285 is a transcript of it by the nineteenth-century Flintshire antiquary Henry Taylor.
81. A similar collection of letters is B.M. Add. MS. 19870. The activities and responsibilities of the county magistracy at this time are discussed by T. G. Barnes, *Op. cit.*, pp. 40-97, also E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1625', pp. 118 ff.
82. N.L.W. 6285, p. 5. The earliest letter in this volume dates from February, 1599, and refers to an order of the Council that Flintshire should in future only bear half the levies of soldiers and charges imposed on Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire in view of its poverty (p. 28); it was presumably kept as a precedent.
83. N.L.W. 6285, p. 7.
84. N.L.W. 6285, pp. 25-6. The duties of the deputy-lieutenants included dealing with recusants (E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1625', p. 106). In 1616 Sir Roger Mostyn and Sir Peter Mutton were responsible for receiving the names of recusants presented to them by incumbents and churchwardens (E. Gwynne Jones, 'Catholic recusancy in the counties of Denbigh, Flint and Montgomery' in *Trans. Cymm.*, 1945, p. 132). In February, 1637, three Flintshire justices, including Sir Thomas Mostyn, were ordered to take action against pilgrimages to Holywell (B.M. Add. MS. 19870, 2 February, 1637).
85. N.L.W. 6285, pp. 27, 31.

daughter Elizabeth and her husband the Elector Palatine, elected king of Bohemia by the Protestant party there in 1619. This was one of the episodes which triggered off the Thirty Years War and it had its repercussions in the counties of England and Wales, especially since the king and queen of Bohemia were in constant need of money. On 4 June, 1620, four months before the Elector Palatine's defeat at the White Mountain, the deputy-lieutenants, justices, and gentlemen of the county of Flint received a circular letter from Baron Achatius de Dohna, the Bohemian ambassador, asking for contributions on behalf of his master and mistress;⁸⁶ the following November the Flintshire deputy-lieutenants wrote to the lord president in reply to several letters they had received from him about the Bohemian contribution.⁸⁷ They had put the request to the county which, though willing to help, felt that the poverty of Flintshire, arising from the low price of corn and cattle and recent demands for money for the building of Bangor bridge and the prince's wise made any contribution out of the question. Nevertheless, £100 had been collected 'for the late service in Ireland' and it was still in the hands of the executors of those who had been deputy-lieutenants at the time, namely Sir Thomas Mostyn, Sir Thomas Hammer, and Sir Roger Puleston and this could be used if the lord president agreed. In August, 1622, Sir Roger and Sir Robert Puleston informed Lord Northampton, the lord president, that they had taken a muster and that the Flintshire trained bands amounted to 200 foot in two companies and 30 light horse; their powder was kept in Flint castle.⁸⁸

Most of the other letters relate to routine militia matters but there is a list of deputy-lieutenants drawn up about 1629;⁸⁹ at that time they were Sir John Conway, Sir Roger Mostyn, George Puleston, Humphrey Dymoke, Robert Davies, and Peter Griffith of Caerwys. In August, 1632, the deputy-lieutenants informed the

86. N.L.W. 6285, p. 33.

87. N.L.W. 6285, p. 38. In a letter to Sir John Wynn dated 16 May, 1620, Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor, remarked that all, both clergy and laity, must lend money (C.W.P. 900).

88. N.L.W. 6285, p. 53.

89. N.L.W. 6285, p. 221. On 10 January, 1628, the Council informed the lords lieutenant of the counties that the king intended to review the trained bands of all the counties in person or by deputy; the North Wales and Shropshire muster was to be at Denbigh (B.M. Add. MS. 19870; I owe this reference to Professor J. Gwynn Williams). The abortive Grand Review is discussed by T. G. Barnes, Op. cit., p. 253.

new lord president, Lord Bridgewater, that they had engaged John Hammer, a soldier who had had much experience in the Dutch service, to drill the trained bands although they were finding it difficult to induce 'the better sort of gentlemen' to perform their service in person.⁹⁰ Sir Roger was now advanced in years and on 21 January, 1634, he wrote to Bridgewater desiring to be relieved of his employment as a deputy-lieutenant on account of his age and inability to travel;⁹¹ he added that only two had attended the last general meeting of the lieutenancy, Robert Davies and Robert Puleston being ill and Sir John Conway 'now addicted to religion'. The last reference to him in the volume was in January, 1639, when he was listed as being liable to find two light horsemen in the hundred of Coleshill; his brother Thomas had to find one in Prestatyn.⁹²

One problem which arose during the reign of Charles I was that of finding ships of 30 tons burthen for the navy.⁹³ The Welsh counties were less than enthusiastic about this obligation to which every maritime county was subject; it was its extension to the inland counties that was to lead to the Ship Money dispute. In July, 1626, the Council wrote to the justices of Denbighshire, Flintshire and Caernarvonshire instructing them to provide a ship for the royal service to be at Portsmouth by the end of the month and on 21 July Sir Roger wrote to Sir John Wynn about it.⁹⁴ He did not know what Flintshire and Denbighshire would decide but there was no vessel of 30 tons in the former except for two or three coal barges which were unsuitable; nor were there any in Denbighshire and there were no proper ports in either county, only creeks. If Sir John was determined that a ship should be provided, then it would have to be bought, since the justices had no authority to press either vessel or men; enough money could probably be raised from these counties for this purpose and he left it

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90. N.L.W. 6285, p. 241; the muster-master and his problems in training the shire levies are discussed by T. G. Barnes, *Op. cit.*, pp. 117-8.
91. N.L.W. 6285, p. 241.
92. N.L.W. 6285, p. 317; others who had to provide two light horsemen included the bishop and dean of St. Asaph, Sir John Conway, Sir Thomas Hammer and John Puleston.
93. A. H. Dodd, 'Wales in the parliaments of Charles I', I, in *Trans. Cymm.*, 1945, p. 34.
94. B.M. Add. MS. 19870, 4 July, 1626; *C.W.P.* 1426. There seems to have been some doubt as to whether it was Anglesey or Caernarvonshire that was to be grouped with Denbighshire and Flintshire.

to Sir John to decide whether a certificate should be sent to the Council to complain of the lack of time allowed for preparation and to find out whether Anglesey or Caernarvonshire should be grouped with the other two counties. Several other letters relate to this question of ships and on 5 August Sir Roger wrote again.⁹⁵ The Flintshire and Denbighshire magistrates were to meet at Denbigh the following Tuesday to confer with their Anglesey colleagues; they had no ships so Anglesey would have to hire and they would contribute to the cost. If they could neither hire nor buy one they would have to certify the fact. He did not think that much would be done about the recent subsidy but they had resolved to pay the one granted in 1609-10 although they did not have to until the prince's mise was paid. They were three payments in arrear; most Welsh counties seem to have been faced with this problem.⁹⁶ Three days later he wrote again;⁹⁷ the Anglesey justices had refused to attend the meeting at Denbigh, claiming that they were exempt from the obligation of providing ships. He referred again to the subsidies and remarked that he could not think how poor Wales could meet the three granted in 1605-6 which were still unpaid.

All this evidence shows that, despite his lack of interest in sitting in parliament, Sir Roger took an active and busy part in local affairs and was a hard-working and conscientious justice of the peace and deputy-lieutenant. And although the call of London awakened no response in him he took a lively interest in national politics and seems to have been remarkably well-informed; his letters to his father-in-law contain frequent references to the affairs of the day. In January, 1624, for example, he told Sir John that a company of Catholics and Protestants who called themselves 'Tyreteries' had been formed in London although not many understood the plot which was said to have been devised by the Catholics.⁹⁸

95. C.W.P. 1431.

96. A. H. Dodd, in Trans. Cymm., 1945, p. 34.

97. C.W.P. 1434.

98. N.L.W. 9059/1186; Sir Roger probably meant tertiaries, i.e. pious laymen who followed part of the rule of St. Francis. The presence of influences such as these in the capital was one of the reasons why he was not anxious for his eldest son to stand for parliament.

The following May a letter included the information that a proclamation for the banishment of Jesuits had been issued.⁹⁹ In November, 1624, Sir Roger reported that the French match (of the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria) had been settled and that 12,000 men had been raised for service in the Palatinate;¹⁰⁰ a letter attributed to him, written on 29 April, 1625, gave particulars of the preparations made for the arrival of Henrietta Maria at Dover.¹⁰¹ On 12 March, 1626, Sir Roger told Sir John of Buckingham's attempt to have John Williams, the fallen Lord Keeper, brought before the Lords and added that the Commons 'harpe upon the same stringe whereupon they broake at Oxenfford';¹⁰² this, presumably, related to the efforts, led by Sir John Eliot, to impeach the duke. Sir Roger wished the move well. Much of this information must have reached Sir Roger from his son John who was in the service of John Williams, although John was not regarded by his father as a satisfactory correspondent; on 20 December, 1624, he asked Sir John if Henry Wynn had any news of his son¹⁰³

... althoe I have written a dozen letters to my sonne John Mostyn since his goeing hence, yet have not received one from him as yet, haveinge put him in some trust for the discharge of some reckoninge of both his brothers Richard & Robert, thoe my mesengers still call for answeere yet he excuses his negligence by beinge busie, and that I should heare from him by some servant of yours that was come downe ...

and three days later he requested his father-in-law to 'bestowe a chidinge upon my sonne John for his slacknes.'¹⁰⁴

Other letters also relate to the doings of parliament and show how well-informed the North Wales gentry were about affairs at the centre. Henry Wynn told his father on 4 July, 1626, that Sir Eubule Thelwall had openly declared his enmity to Sir Roger Mostyn.¹⁰⁵ Thelwall was principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and something of a Puritan; he was also member for Denbighshire and was elected to the Committee of Privileges when the 1626 parliament met.¹⁰⁶ There is nothing to indicate the

99. C.W.P. 1223.

100. C.W.P. 1267.

101. C.W.P. 1336.

102. N.L.W. 9061/1397.

103. N.L.W. 9060/1272.

104. N.L.W. 9060/1273.

105. C.W.P. 1423.

106. A. H. Dodd in Trans. Cymm., 1945, pp. 24-6.

nature of his quarrel with Sir Roger but it could, perhaps, have had something to do with his attack on bishop Bayly. Sir Roger told Sir John on 21 July, 1626, that he did not approve of Bayly's proposal that the country gentlemen should join the Council of War;¹⁰⁷ the bishop had put this forward in the Lords on the grounds that the burden of taxation fell on them.¹⁰⁸ The purpose of the Council was to control the supplies voted by parliament for the war and Sir Roger's opposition to the bishop's rather hare-brained proposal was probably due to the feeling which, as Professor Dodd has said, was general among the county gentry, that only parliament could get the country out of the mess it was in. North Wales was, on the whole, opposed to the king and Buckingham at this time although nobody would have considered attacking Charles himself; in Wales, and probably in England too, the duke was seen as the king's evil genius.¹⁰⁹ One other high office did come Sir Roger's way; in August, 1617, a few months before his father's death, he became a member of the Council in the Marches although there must be some doubt as to whether this appointment was operative since his name appears among those of new councillors appointed on 30 June, 1623.¹¹⁰

Throughout this period powerful patrons could be a great help to an ambitious family in its rise to wealth and influence. In Wales this role was particularly played by the earls of Pembroke in the sixteenth century, by the earl of Essex in the south-west and to a lesser degree in Denbighshire until his fall, and by John Williams, dean of Westminster, bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in North Wales during the last years of the reign of James I. On the whole the greater Welsh families needed no patrons unless they chose to exercise their talents on a wider stage; they were powerful enough in their own localities. But contact and acquaintance with the great could be useful if, for example, families were competing for local dominance; it could also mean openings in a wider world for younger sons.

107. C.W.P., 1426.

108. A. H. Dodd, 'Bishop Lewes Bayly, c 1575-1631' in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc. XXVIII (1967), p. 30; A. H. Dodd in Trans. Cymm., 1945, p. 37.

109. A. H. Dodd in Trans. Cymm., 1945, p. 43.

110. H.M.C. Reports, XIII, Appendix IV, pp. 254, 270.

There is little evidence of the Mostyns going out of their way to seek the friendship and protection of great men. William may have had some connection with the first earl of Pembroke and according to the family history Sir Thomas was friendly with many of the leading men of the time, including Burghley.¹¹¹ In 1599 he entertained Essex on his way to Ireland and was knighted by him but there is nothing to suggest that he was an Essex partisan;¹¹² nor does he appear to have been associated with Leicester. Sir Roger was certainly on friendly terms with John Williams; when Williams became Lord Keeper in 1621 on the fall of Francis Bacon he was not unmindful of his obligations to the gentry of North Wales and many people prospered under his protection. On 19 June, 1621, William Wynn, one of Sir John's sons, informed his father that he and John Mostyn were promised good places in Williams's service;¹¹³ the new Lord Keeper was Sir John's godson and, according to Sir Richard Wynn, John Griffith of Cefnamwlch, the victor in the recent Caernarvonshire election was 'perplexed'.¹¹⁴ A month later William advised his father and Sir Roger to congratulate Williams and thank him for his special favour to their sons and on 11 August he reported that Sir Roger was going to present him with a piece of plate.¹¹⁵ William and Sir Richard did likewise and bought a basin and ewer of double gilt which was thought a far better present than Sir Roger's although that cost much more.¹¹⁶ Williams soon showed his goodwill; Sir Roger, Sir John and Sir John Bodvel were warned to be careful that they were assessed for at least £20 for the subsidy, as those assessed at less were to be removed from the Commission of the Peace and Sir John was asked to keep this information to himself as it would be a good way of having the Llyn[^] justices removed.¹¹⁷

111. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 101.

112. The Essex party in North Wales was centred almost entirely on Denbighshire and was bound up with the rivalries of county politics (A. H. Dodd, 'North Wales. In the Essex revolt of 1601' in E.H.R., LIX (1944), pp. 348, 356). Essex's motive in knighting Sir Thomas may have been to bind him to his party and perhaps to persuade him to use his influence to build up support in Flintshire; if this were so, he seems to have been mistaken in his man. Although several poets referred to the Essex visit their comments imply that in honouring her representative Sir Thomas was honouring the queen herself.

113. C.W.P. 961.

114. C.W.P. 962.

115. C.W.P. 966, 970.

116. C.W.P. 971.

117. Ibid.

Williams fell in his turn in 1625; his dismissal must have been a blow to the North Wales gentry. On 7 November William Wynn reported the circumstances to his father and added that John Mostyn remained in the bishop's service.¹¹⁸ Williams had not, in fact, suffered unduly; he was still bishop of Lincoln and dean of Westminster as well as being in receipt of a handsome pension from the Exchequer and soon afterwards he himself wrote to Sir John and Sir Roger telling them not to worry about his dismissal, which he had expected since the death of James I.¹¹⁹ John Mostyn seems to have remained in his service and on 11 November 1641, he wrote to his father with news of the rehabilitation of Williams who was to be archbishop of York.¹²⁰ And it was at Gloddaith that the archbishop died in 1650. But families like the Mostyns did not need patrons; they were secure in their own localities where their power lay and the Mostyns, at least, had no ambitions beyond this. Sir John Wynn was desperate for office, both for himself and his sons, and for influence in London, but the Mostyns seem to have sought little; the sole government appointment obtained by them was John's office as collector of tenths which he acquired in 1638.¹²¹ Service in parliament was an obligation to be carried out, apparently without much enthusiasm, when their turn came round, while there was no struggle for local dominance in Flintshire where a balance of power between the four leading families had developed; in Caernarvonshire they were influential but they were certainly not strong enough to dominate the county. Their service in these two counties was as justices of the peace and deputy-lieutenants; in these offices they continued to exert their traditional leadership and authority. They had no desire to move to London and live beyond their means and in this they were at one with the policy of the

118. C.W.P. 1376.

119. C.W.P. 1379, 1382.

120. N.L.W. 9063/1694.

121. 'The Wynn family and estate', p. 368; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 140. Some time previously John had petitioned the new Lord Keeper for an appointment in the 'Office of post mortems' in the Chancery (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 135).

crown.¹²² Gentry coming to town could easily become parasites on the court, neglecting their traditional functions in their counties and on their estates and causing the whole structure of local government to break down, as was to happen in France. Sir Roger was old-fashioned in his outlook and seems to have visited London rarely. Office to him and his predecessors was essentially a means of exercising local leadership in the way that they had always done and the opportunities for advancement which were now available held little attraction. Nevertheless, the fact that they held office, sat in parliament and were members of the Council in the Marches shows the position they had attained and the prestige which they enjoyed in North Wales; by the time of Sir Roger they were undoubtedly one of the leading families and Siôn Tudur's praise of his father seems particularly appropriate:¹²³

Mawrhad i'r ddwy wlad waed urddolion,
Mawredd holl Wynedd a gwayw llinon,
Myn y glod wir feistr mewn gwlad Arfon,
A pha helynt mwy yn Fflint a Môn.

122. This was expressed at length by a contemporary attorney-general, quoted in F. J. Fisher, 'The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in E. M. Carus Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, II (1962), p. 207; the point is also discussed in L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, pp. 184-7.

123. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 12, f. 9b: 'Honour to the two countries, blood of noblemen, greatness of all Gwynedd and spear of ash, he demands the praise, true master, in the land of Arfon, and what greater course in Flint and Anglesey'.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITIGATION

LITIGATION

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could almost be described as the golden age of litigation among the gentry. The Welsh have always been regarded as a litigious people, especially at this time, but the courts were equally popular in England;¹ indeed, going to law has been described as 'the most popular of indoor sports'.² There were many reasons for this urge to resort to the courts, chief among them being the decline of violence, especially among the upper classes, and if this were true of England it was even more so of Wales.³ The quarrels of landowners and uchelwyr gradually found their way into Star Chamber, Exchequer, Chancery, the Council in the Marches, and similar tribunals and the attorney took the place of the plaid of kinsmen, tenants, and dependants, although the Welsh gentry were not finally pacified until after 1600.⁴ But disputes could now be resolved without bloodshed and family rivalries argued out in the slow and ceremonious procedure of bill and answer, rejoinder and surrejoinder, rather than in affrays in the streets of Denbigh or Cardiff or armed demonstrations at the assizes. Law and order was returning to Wales as the records of the courts show; the class described, even in an Elizabethan context, as 'a Welsh squirearchy as yet unversed in constitutional forms of venting family rivalries' was becoming more sophisticated in the dealings of its members with each other.⁵

In an agricultural society land was the basis of wealth, power, and influence and land was also therefore at the root of much litigation; much of it, too, was the result of a continuous struggle for pre-eminence within particular localities, of personal clashes between squires, or of attempts to bring pressure to bear on an over-powerful landowner like Sir John Wynn of Gwydir. Many families were involved

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1. The point is made by H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540-1640, pp. 167-8.
 2. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, p. 118.
 3. This is discussed by Stone, Op. cit., pp. 117-8; he also points out the significance of the replacement of the broadsword as a personal weapon by the far more dangerous rapier, which meant that violence had to be controlled (ibid. pp. 118-9). Another result was the development of the code of the duel.
 4. For examples of Elizabethan violence see G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales, pp. 32-5, 110-1; the topic is also discussed by Penry Williams, 'The Welsh borderland under Queen Elizabeth' in W.H.R. I i (1960), pp. 23-7.
 5. H. Gareth Owen, 'Family politics in Elizabethan Merionethshire' in B.B.C.S. XVIII (1959), p. 186.

in long-standing feuds which often lay behind recourse to the courts. The study of any landowning family during this period will reveal a considerable amount of litigation, generally for more than one of the above reasons, and the Mostyns are no exception; what is unusual about them is that they seem to have been involved in less than were most families of comparable size and that the cases to which they were parties were not often to do with their own aggrandisement and profit. In this, as in so many things, the family seems to have been less aggressive than many of its contemporaries and one of the most interesting things about the Mostyns is their seemingly effortless rise to influence and prosperity.

There is little evidence of litigation by the first Thomas Mostyn. Some time between 1552 and 1554 he was sued in the Court of Augmentations by one Hugh Puleston.⁶ The parsonage and tithes of Eglwys Rhos, formerly the property of the abbey of Aberconway, had been let to the complainant in March, 1552; Thomas was seised of a messuage and 100 acres in the township of Gloddaith in the parish, which had always been liable for tithe, but he had refused to pay. There is no record of the result of this case but on 20 February, 1550, Thomas was granted a lease of the tithe of grain due from the township of Gloddaith for 21 years at an annual rent of 53s.4d. and an entry fine of a year's rent, along with the right to have a stipendiary priest to officiate in his house;⁷ the tithe was intended for the maintenance of the chaplain. Further leases of the Gloddaith tithes were later granted to the family and they were finally purchased by Sir Roger Mostyn in 1623.⁸

Thomas's son William was involved in several actions and one of the most interesting is the Star Chamber suit brought by him and the bishop of St. Asaph against Hugh Whitford, the sinecure rector of Whitford.⁹ Hugh Whitford had a family connection with the parish; his grandfather Sir Hywel ap Dai, a descendant

6. Calendar of Augmentations Records, p. 55.

7. Ibid., p. 275; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6252.

8. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6252-6. The transactions are also mentioned in Chapter IV of this study.

9. P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W31/20; 5/W21/38; these are both part of the same case.

of Ithel Fychan in both the paternal and maternal lines who had a considerable reputation among the poets as a patron and bon-vivant, had become rector in 1484.¹⁰ Like so many of his brethren Sir Hywel had had scant regard for the Roman doctrine of celibacy and he was followed at Whitford by his son Richard;¹¹ this must have led to some confusion since the then head of the Mostyn family, resident in the parish, was also Richard ap Hywel. In January, 1536, Hugh Whitford alias Price was presented to the church of Whitford vacated by the resignation of Richard ap Hywel.¹² Whitford seems to have survived all the subsequent changes unscathed but 30 years later this case was brought against him. The papers include a long list of accusatory articles; the first indicates why the Western church had for so long tried to enforce clerical celibacy, pointing out the descent of the living through three successive generations of the same family 'and the said Hugh Whitford holdeth the same as though it descendeth to him by inheritance'.¹³

Whitford made no attempt to preach against the pope, he went about the parish dressed in such an untidy fashion that people suspected he was not in holy orders, he put the profits of the church to his own use, spending them on his 'harlot' and illegitimate children, giving nothing to the poor, and he had let the parsonage house fall into ruin. He did not maintain the chancel properly as was his duty as rector, he did not provide the parishioners with the rudiments of religious instruction in 'the vulgar tongue' as he ought and the articles have something to say about his private life, naming three ladies and four children. A commission had been issued on 18 May, 1566, to Dr. Elis Price and others to obtain the answers of William Mostyn, the bishop, and others to Whitford's petition.

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10. E. Bachellery, L'Oeuvre Poétique de Gutun Owain (2 vols. Paris, 1951), II, pp. 304-5; Glanmor Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation, pp. 282-3.
 11. In 1531 this Richard, described as clerk and rector of Whitford, was a feoffee in a feoffment to uses by one of his parishioners (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3112).
 12. Letters & Papers, Henry VIII, X (1536), p. 80; the living was at the king's disposal because of a vacancy in the see of St. Asaph.
 13. P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W31/20, m. 6.

This petition follows another set of the same articles;¹⁴ he claimed that he had been lawfully instituted and had been incumbent for 30 years without disturbance. About two years before his petition the bishop and William Mostyn, knowing that the parsonage was a commodious one and that he was a quiet man, arranged for him to be summoned in the bishop's court to answer the parishioners' articles, all of which were untrue. He took the case to the Court of Arches and obtained an inhibition against the bishop and William but he still had to appear before them both at St. Asaph; he added that the parishioners who had complained against him were all under the influence of William Mostyn. Finally, the bishop and William, with a company of armed men, had entered the parsonage and ejected him and he asked that they be brought before Star Chamber.

The papers also include the interrogatories administered to William and the bishop and their replies.¹⁵ When asked whether Whitford was inducted and accepted as parson William replied that he did not know about the induction but that he had been accepted and had received the fruits of the benefice for the past 20 or 21 years. To many of the questions, including the one about the case in the Court of Arches, he replied that he did not know, although in this case he admitted having been cited to appear in the court at the suit of the complainant. In reply to the question as to whether he had, with the aid of armed men, taken the lamb and wool tithes in December, 1562, he said that he had reached agreement with Whitford about them before collection. The bishop had directed a sequestration to Griffith Jones, clerk, by the force of which he and Jones had taken the tithes without any disturbance; he had also taken the Whitford tithes and oblations from the parson and was keeping them as one of the sequestrators. The bishop denied riots, unlawful assemblies and the rest and argued that the matter should be dealt with in the ecclesiastical courts. Whitford was unsuitable and not even in deacon's orders and the bishop drew

14. P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W21/38.

15. P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W31/20.

attention to the defects of his private life. He had been presented at a deanery visitation in August, 1563, for his sins, had admitted them when summoned before the bishop, and had failed to purge himself; he had therefore been deprived of the living. His crimes were so notorious that nobody could fail to be aware of them. There had been no collusion with William Mostyn in the action taken against the rector.

A case brought in Chancery in June, 1564, by Robert Jones, one of the queen's grooms, against William Mostyn, seems to be connected with the Whitford affair.¹⁶ According to Jones Whitford had, in October, 1547, demised the rectory to his brother John, in whom he had great trust, for 21 years. Under the agreement and another subsequent lease to another brother, Thomas, Hugh was to keep the tithes. The rectory was granted to Jones in August, 1559, for four years but he lost the deed which came into the hands of William Mostyn, Griffith Jones, John Whitford, Agnes, the widow of Thomas, and her second husband Rice Thomas, who had moved in and ejected him. William denied all this and stated that one Philip Sidney was now the lawful parson and that he collected the tithe on his behalf; Hugh Whitford had demised the rectory to his use. In his surrejoinder Jones declared that deprivation could not invalidate his lease.

What lay behind this episode? Hugh Whitford does appear to have been an unsatisfactory shepherd. The standard of the parochial clergy was low at this time and one of the achievements of the Elizabethan church was the raising of this standard. Whitford was certainly not the only one of his kind;¹⁷ there can be no doubt that the bishops were trying to bring about improvement but there were bad incumbents and scandals. Thomas Davies, who was at this time bishop of St. Asaph, had himself collected sinecures in his younger days but now he was active in removing unsatisfactory incumbents and in enforcing the new religious settlement.¹⁸

16. P.R.O. C3/102/19.

17. Several other cases, including the particularly blatant example of Gruffydd Kyffin, vicar of Llanrwst, are discussed in G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales, pp. 221-5.

18. Bywgraffiadur, pp. 141-2; see also Glanmor Williams, 'Wales and the Reformation' in Trans. Cymm., 1966, pp. 123-4.

Davies was, on the whole, a good and conscientious bishop, one of the new breed of Elizabethan prelates who did so much for the Welsh church, and Whitford's activities suggest that he received no more than his deserts. William Mostyn was the leading layman in the parish and it was therefore natural that the bishop should seek his aid and employ him, as it were, as the secular arm. Much church property was available to laymen, particularly by way of leases, not only of land but also of tithes, sinecure rectories, and even prebends.¹⁹ It may be significant that at Michaelmaes, 1570, William Mostyn paid Sir Henry Sidney, the president of the Council in the Marches, £100 for the farm of the parsonage of Whitford;²⁰ the lay rector was Philip, Sir Henry's son, then a boy of sixteen.²¹

William was also involved in litigation with his brother Richard. Some time before 1553 Richard brought an action in the Court of Augmentations against Thomas ap William and others, complaining that he had had a lease from Henry VIII of Bodysgallen and Faerdref and had paid a fine and an annual increment for it.²² Now he sought a new lease and was ready to pay the necessary fine but during the previous term a 21-year lease had been granted to one Lewis Lloyd; this, Richard maintained, was void, but Lloyd had made a grant to Robert Myddelton who had then demised it to the defendants who had wrongfully entered. Lloyd's lease seems to have been perfectly valid since in 1557 the crown leased the reversion of the lease made to Lewis ap Dafydd Lloyd on 22 February, 1546, to William Mostyn for 20 years.²³ This lease may be evidence of a dispute though it is possible that William was acting on his brother's behalf. But the great dispute between the two brothers was over the lease of the bishop of Bangor's manor of Gogarth in Creuddyn; the story of the Mostyn lease of Gogarth is a complicated one which does not always show the family in the best of lights and William's action against Richard in the Council of the Marches is part of the story. Gogarth had been the

19. G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

20. *H.M.C. Reports, LXXVII: De Lisle I* (1925), p. 358.

21. *P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W31/20*.

22. *Calendar of Augmentations Records*, p. 64.

23. *U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 956*; according to Mostyn & Glenn (p. 199) the original crown grant to Lloyd was still at Mostyn at the time of writing.

principal residence of the bishops of Bangor until the Glyn Dŵr revolt. In 1535 the manor was let to Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn and others and five years later a new lease was granted to Dame Jane Griffith for 44 years at an unchanged annual rent of £12. 13s. 4d.²⁴ This lease was assigned in 1547 to Thomas Mostyn and in 1550 he obtained a fresh lease from bishop Arthur Bulkeley for 300 years at an annual rent of £13. 6s. 8d.²⁵ Among the Bangor diocesan archives there is a volume of copies of leases, including a number of Gogarth, along with a description by bishop Henry Rowlands of the various transactions.²⁶

According to Rowlands Jane Griffith assigned her lease, not to Thomas, but to Richard in return for some 'comoditie' or favour to her son by her second marriage, William Glynne of Lleuar;²⁷ this could have been the lease to Glynne of Tregarnedd made the same year and it may also be significant that Thomas Mostyn's daughter Grace was Glynne's second wife.²⁸ In this way, 'the Mostyns came in to have their first footing there'. On the death of Thomas in 1558 both leases would appear to have passed to Richard; indeed, they may conceivably have been intended for him from the start by way of provision for a younger son.²⁹ Richard was faced with the problem of two leases, the one assigned in 1547 and the other granted by bishop Bulkeley in 1550, and there was also a third one for 60 years which would expire in 1583; to sort the matter out he and the then bishop, Rowland Meyrick, appeared before the dean and chapter in the parish church at Bangor on 7 July, 1562.³⁰ Next, Richard surrendered his title under the lease of 1540 and was granted a new one for 60 years, but this was found to be against the statute limiting the term of ecclesiastical leases, so he again surrendered it, along with that of 1550, and was

24. D. B. Hague, 'The Bishop's palace, Gogarth, Llandudno' in Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc., XVII (1956), p. 10; N.L.W. Thorne 40.

25. N.L.W. Thorne 249, 287.

26. N.L.W. Church in Wales Records, Bangor, B/MISC. VOLS./31.

27. N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS/31, f. 10.

28. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 719; Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 270.

29. According to Rowlands Jane Griffith assigned the 1540 lease to her grandson Richard, not to Thomas; in any case, it was not uncommon for the Mostyns to provide for younger sons.

30. N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS./31, f. 2.

granted a new one in 1564 for three lives at an annual rent of £16.³¹ Meanwhile 'unkindnes grue' between Richard and William and this unkindness must have lain behind the action in the Council in the Marches. The action was brought at Worcester and the Council's decree was issued on 22 May, 1573.³² William had claimed the wrongful withholding of half the manor and other lands in Creuddyn from him, the non-sealing and non-delivery of a lease of these lands, and the non-delivery of other deeds since Richard claimed the lease himself. The court ordered that William should enjoy peaceful possession of the whole manor and other lands and that all documents should be handed over to him. He would pay Richard £90 at Conway church in instalments. On 8 July following the lordship and manor were to be divided into two equal parts and lots cast for them by the two parties. Arrangements were made for current crops and William was to pay £4 to Richard to cover the lost rent paid by him. Both parties were to bind themselves in £500.

According to bishop Rowlands's notes Richard's lease came somehow into the possession first of William and then of his son Thomas and the latter took out a new one for 21 years although one of the lives named in the earlier document had not yet ended. This was probably the lease granted on 28 October, 1588, to Roger Mostyn of Lincolns' Inn, Thomas's heir, and this was the basis of the family's title when Rowlands became bishop.³³ But the confusion had not yet ended; Thomas still asserted the validity of the 300-year lease of 1550, described by the bishop as 'the Bastard lease which Mr. Thomas Mostyn verrie vainlie speaketh sometimes of that he hath of the manor of gogarth'.³⁴ And there was yet another lease, granted in 1597 by bishop Richard Vaughan to Henry Jones of Llangoed in Anglesey, mace-bearer to the Lord Chancellor, for 21 years at an annual rent of £17.³⁵ Rowlands claimed

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31. N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS./31, f. 10. In fact the principal statutes limiting terms of ecclesiastical and collegiate leases were enacted in 1570-1, 1571-2 and 1575-6 (Agrarian History, IV, p. 687); however, Henry VIII's Act of Leases prohibited reversions of more than 21 years or three lives. N.L.W. Thorne 9-18, 72, 228 relate to the lease to Richard Mostyn.
32. N.L.W. Thorne 259.
33. N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS./31, ff. 6, 10.
34. N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS./31, f. 3.
35. N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS./31, f. 1. Jones never took up this lease, which was granted to test the validity of some earlier ones, and eventually surrendered it (N.L.W. Thorne 285 which is the opinion of Humphrey Davenport on the lease of 1600, dated 24 September, 1619).

that he had tried to challenge the 1588 lease and bring an action against Sir Thomas, as by now he was, but he was 'over-ruled by great personages' to compromise and grant a new lease to Roger for three lives. This must have been the lease dated 18 December, 1600, for the lives of William Kyffin of Maenan, Richard Wynn of Gwydir, and Roger himself at an annual rent of £16;³⁶ it recited Henry Jones's relinquishment of his lease and Roger's surrender of all existing leases from the bishop. Rowlands deeply regretted having made this grant but he had not been bishop long and had been influenced 'by the greatnes of his (Sir Thomas's) frends, and his dissemblinge fflatterie'; he felt now that he should have enforced the existing leases. During his dispute with Sir Thomas the knight had tried to claim the validity of the 300-year lease; Rowlands did not think much of his chances in view of its surrender by Richard Mostyn and subsequent cancellation but he had no illusions about the family:

But they are verie Cuninge and lightlie will counterfaite divers thinges and might prevaile with the Register that was here Mr. Fletcher for copies of any thinge that might make for them

This written account is Rowlands's testimony to the dishonest behaviour of the Mostyns over the Gogarth lease. It does not show William or his son in a good light; what it reveals, in fact, is a determination to obtain a lease of Gogarth from the bishop of Bangor and then to hang on to it at all costs. There was nothing unusual in such behaviour; from Sir John Wynn, for example, it might be commonplace, but there is little evidence elsewhere of the Mostyns going about their affairs in an aggressive manner. After Sir Roger inherited the estate a fairer bargain seems to have been struck. The lease was renewed by bishop Bayly in 1627, again for three lives;³⁷ the rent remained at £16 but no details of the entry fine are given. It was renewed again by bishop Roberts in 1642, the rent

36. N.L.W. Thorne 227; according to Thorne 285 the validity of this lease was questionable, never having been confirmed by the dean and chapter, which is why Sir Roger sought a new one. The consultation of Davenport is mentioned in C.W.P. 876. Under the 1600 lease if Roger had a son during the next seven years his life would be included.

37. N.L.W. Thorne 248; the lives were those of Sir Roger, his wife, and his son Sir Thomas. He had been seeking a renewal of the lease in 1623 (C.W.P. 1147).

still being £16 but with an entry fine of £400.³⁸ Gogarth, being in Creuddyn and adjacent to the Gloddaith estate, was naturally attractive to the Mostyns; they would certainly have felt uneasy had any other family acquired the lease, since their position in the commote would have been threatened. The manor had originally been the chief seat of the bishop but the house seems to have been burned, probably in the Glyn Dŵr revolt. When bishops again became resident in the diocese at the end of the fifteenth century a new palace was built in Bangor itself.³⁹ The bishop now probably found a regular income from Gogarth to be more convenient than the problems of estate management there. More and more ecclesiastical property in Wales was being let to laymen during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and the clergy were at their most defenceless during the latter reign when they could expect no protection from the crown;⁴⁰ it may be significant that Arthur Bulkeley, who was bishop of Bangor at this time, was particularly generous with leases of episcopal lands.⁴¹

William's mother Jane Mostyn was involved in a Chancery suit in 1536.⁴² It was brought against her by Richard Lewis of Watling Street in the city of London, innholder. In his bill he said that Hywel ab Ednyfed of Gloddaith had been lawfully seised of a messuage, garden and 60 acres there; when he died this property should have passed to his daughter Jane, the wife of Lewis ap Hywel, and her son, the complainant. But the deeds had come into the hands of Jane Mostyn and Lewis ab Ednyfed who had conveyed 'divers ... and secret estates' to themselves during his minority; they had refused to hand over the deeds when he asked for them and he had no remedy at common law. Jane replied that Richard Lewis had been incited by others to trouble her, 'a sickely woman'. She admitted that Hywel had been seised of the land in question but by his deed of 13 May, 1514, he had

38. N.L.W. Thorne 190, 182 (a receipt for the fine); the lives in this case were those of Lady Mostyn and Sir Roger's two grandsons Roger and Thomas.

39. M. L. Clarke, Bangor Cathedral (1969), p. 91.

40. Glanmor Williams, 'Landlords in Wales: the Church' in Agrarian History, IV, pp. 387-8.

41. A number of these are included in N.L.W. B/MISC.VOLS./31.

42. P.R.O. C3/110/59.

conveyed them to John ap Maredudd ap Ieuan Goch who had in turn conveyed them, on 14 May, 1541, to her husband Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel and herself. There is no trace of such a deed among the family papers although that in itself does not prove that it never existed; nor is there any further information about the result of the case.

There was a certain amount of litigation during the time of Sir Thomas Mostyn but none of it was on a really large scale. In 1591 he sued William Williams of Cochwillan for slander at the Great Sessions and the Council wrote to the judge instructing him to expedite the hearing of the case, describing him as 'a gentleman wel knowne to your selves and one in great trust for her Highnes' service in those parts wheare he inhabiteth' and urging speed for the sake of his reputation.⁴³ This shows the influence that he could exert and the respect in which he was held. An Exchequer case in 1606-7 related to lands in Anglesey.⁴⁴ It was an action brought by Owen Wood of Rhosmor against Sir Thomas Mostyn and 19 others, including Sir Edward Herbert, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Gwyn, Sir William Thomas, and Arthur Bagnall of Plas Newydd and it concerned one-eighth of the township of Tregarnedd.⁴⁵

In his bill Wood claimed that he was seised of one-eighth of the township under a crown lease of 30 November, 1572, to William Howard. On 4 October, 1573, Howard had conveyed the lease to Humphrey Fitzwilliam and he had conveyed it in turn to Owen Wood, the plaintiff's father, on 7 February, 1575; it had passed to the younger Owen Wood on his death. The defendants had obtained the original letters patent and had wrongfully entered on the lands and ejected Wood. A commission of survey had marked out the bounds but the defendants claimed all

43. A.P.C. XXI (1591), p. 121.

44. P.R.O. E112/144(Anglesey)/54.

45. The Herbert and Bagnall interests in Tregarnedd were the result of the marriages of the three daughters of Edward Griffith of Penrhyn who died in 1540 and whose death resulted in a dispute between his father-in-law on behalf of the daughters and his younger brother Rhys Griffith (Bywgraffiadur, II, p. 98). For the award of 1542 giving the Penrhyn Anglesey lands to the daughters see N.L.W. Powys Castle 11130 and for the origin of the Penrhyn interest in Tregarnedd see Arch. Camb., 1849, p. 192.

Tregarnedd as their freehold and refused to divide their own lands from his, thereby disinheriting the crown. He claimed that the lands in question were escheat, having formerly belonged to one Gruffydd ap Gruffydd. In their answers the defendants denied that either the crown or Gruffydd ap Gruffydd had even been seised of lands in Tregarnedd; Sir Thomas and his tenants added that the complaint arose from Wood's 'desire to causelesse suytes'. William Mostyn had been lawfully seised of all the property now in the tenure of Sir Thomas and his tenants and he and his ancestors had enjoyed the lands and the income from them from time immemorial. They had not got the letters patent or any other documents mentioned in the bill.

A special commission was issued out of the Exchequer and it took depositions at Llangefni on 31 August, 1607.⁴⁶ The answers to the interrogatories indicated that nobody had heard of escheat lands in Tregarnedd or of Gruffydd ap Gruffydd and that the Mostyn rights in the township had never been questioned. A further commission sat at Llangefni on 14 January, 1608, and again failed to elicit any information about Gruffydd ap Gruffydd.⁴⁷ Richard ap Thomas ap Llywelyn of Llangefni listed the lands of the various defendants and named their tenants and Richard ap Richard of Tregarnedd revealed that the Herbert lands in the township were of better quality than those of Sir Thomas Mostyn but that was all. As it happened, the crown certainly had been seised of land in Tregarnedd in the past; this was the land there which had once belonged to the Welsh baronial family of Hendwr in Edeirnion and which had escheated to the crown after the Glyn Dŵr revolt and one would suspect that this was the land involved in this case.⁴⁸ Crown lands, particularly those which had come into royal possession by escheat, were fair game for any landowner; concealment and encroachment, especially on detached or intermingled strips of crown land, ^{were} ~~was~~ far from uncommon and ancient

46. P.R.O. E134/5 James I/M 9.

47. P.R.O. E134/5 James I/H 1.

48. P.R.O. E315/166; the question is discussed in Chapter III of this study. Gruffydd ap Gruffydd may possibly have been Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith who in 1467 conveyed lands in Tregarnedd to William Griffith of Penrhyn (Arch. Camb., 1849, p. 189).

bounds were often forgotten.⁴⁹ The crown was an absentee landlord and few local landowners could be relied on to look after its interests.

A somewhat similar case related to escheat lands in Flintshire; it was brought in 1612-3 by Sir Thomas Mostyn and Sir Thomas Hanmer against Sir William Hanmer, John Lloyd, John Conway, John Hanmer and others.⁵⁰ The case concerned crown lands known as the Old Escheat Lands, New Escheat Lands, Mardir, and Tir Isaf; these were scattered among the lands of various freeholders and in the open fields of St. Asaph, Diserth, Meliden, Whitford, and numerous other townships and could not easily be recognised. The plaintiffs recited a crown lease to them and several others at an annual rent of £30. 3s. 8d.; each patentee had agreed to pay part of the rent and of the cost of securing the lease, but only two of the original patentees, namely the plaintiffs, now survived. This lease was dated 5 July, 1598.⁵¹ The complaint was one of seizure of documents and of confederacy to defraud the plaintiffs by refusing to pay their share of the rents due for those of the lands in question which they held and by claiming them to be freehold. The defendants also brought suits against the officials who distrained their cattle for the payment of their rents, as was their right and duty. In his reply, John Hanmer claimed that the lands had been demised by the crown to his father for ever and that he had granted them to him; he denied that the agreement mentioned in the bill had ever existed. Crown lands were one of the most fruitful sources of litigation; the crown wanted revenue from them while the landowners who leased them hoped that if they kept quiet for long enough the authorities would forget about them and the lands would gradually become an integral part of the lessees' freehold estates. Ancient escheats, being generally scattered parcels, were

49. T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales in tempore James I pp. xv-xvi.

50. Ibid., p. 201.

51. N.L.W. Bettisfield 1472; the calendar refers to a lease of 4 Elizabeth (1561-2) but this is almost certainly a misprint. The depositions of witnesses in the case are N.L.W. Bettisfield 737.

particularly in demand to round off existing properties.

Two Exchequer cases, brought in 1603-4 and 1604-5, were concerned with mineral rights at Mostyn itself, particularly the coal mines. The first was brought by Sir John Egerton of Egerton in Cheshire against Sir Thomas Mostyn and Roger Mostyn.⁵² In his bill he claimed that the crown lease of the manor to the Mostyns did not include the coal measures there. Sir Thomas and Roger had encroached on the commons and bought out freeholders whose lands were scattered among those of the crown; they had also taken out a lease in reversion after the expiry of the one in force to cover up their encroachments and they had conspired with others to procure a lease of the coal measures. This lease was granted to one Mason who then conveyed it to Roger Mostyn. There had also been encroachment on land belonging to Piers Mostyn of Talacre who had once built a salt-house there and he also claimed certain coal pits near the Dee estuary. The defendants had committed various wastes and spoils on the land, including the felling of trees which could have been used for shipbuilding, and they had removed the boundary marks between their land and the king's; in addition to all these misdeeds they had diverted watercourses, claiming the sources of water to be their property, and had raised coals on the king's waste which they claimed as their own land.

Sir Thomas and Roger replied that the claim was a vexatious one, aimed at hindering an action brought by Roger against Piers Mostyn before the Council in the Marches concerning the sinking of pits and the digging of coal on the waste of the manor; this suit, too, should be heard by the Council. They hoped to prove that Piers, 'beinge a gentleman mutche gyven to revenge malice upon his neighbours' had often caused these neighbours a great deal of trouble. Egerton had claimed that Piers had leased the coal workings to him; this, they said, was because he lived outside the jurisdiction of the Council. Their main complaint against Piers

52. P.R.O. E112/149(Flintshire)/35. The information contained in these two cases about the coal mines is discussed in Chapter VI.

was that he had been digging coal under Morfa Llinegr, which was part of the manor of Mostyn, and selling it. They went on to recite their title to the Mostyn lands which were entirely distinct from those of the crown and the boundaries of which were clearly marked; they did work the coal measures on their own land. They denied the buying out of tenants and the felling of trees. In his replication Egerton denied that Piers Mostyn brought vexatious actions against his neighbours and in their rejoinder the defendants denied the stopping-up of highways and watercourses. Egerton had obtained an injunction to stay Roger's suit in the Council in the Marches and the Solicitor-General told the court that it was since the beginning of this action that he had claimed title to the Mostyn coal measures.⁵³ At this session Roger was ordered to exhibit a bill of complaint against Egerton and Piers Mostyn and on 18 November, 1605, Egerton's case was dismissed for want of replications.⁵⁴

The second action was brought by Roger against Egerton, Piers Mostyn, and others, presumably in consequence of the order of the court.⁵⁵ He claimed that the crown lease included the coal measures and he cited the lease to Mason and its assignment to him.⁵⁶ The defendants had moved in and raised about 2,000 tons of coal and sold it; part of their workings extended under land which was part of the manor. Egerton replied that the land in question belonged to Piers Mostyn and that the fact that he had built a salt-house on it was clear evidence of his title; he had heard that neither Roger nor Sir Thomas had questioned this title until recently, but that since coal had been found on the land they had sought to get possession of it. Piers Mostyn's answer was on much the same lines and he, too, argued that the crown lease to Sir Thomas did not include the coal measures not on his own land. In his replication Roger declared that the salt-house and the coal-pit were on land which had formerly belonged to Richard ab Ithel; in their

53. P.R.O. E124/1, f. 143a.

54. P.R.O. E123/29, f. 316b.

55. P.R.O. E112/149(Flintshire)/33.

56. The mines had been leased to Mason for 21 years in 1594 and in 1602 he and Thomas Cowper assigned the lease to Roger Mostyn for £70 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6935). A few months later Roger assigned it to his father (Clwyd R.O., D/M/872).

answer in the previous case he and his father had stated that Richard ab Ithel had long ago sold to Sir Thomas. He again claimed that the lease to Egerton had been granted after the bringing of the action before the Council in the Marches.

The fact that these actions were brought shows the importance of the Mostyn coal workings by this time and they seem to have made a major contribution to the prosperity of the Mostyn family.⁵⁷ The litigation would appear to have stemmed from encroachment by Piers Mostyn of Talacre on the manor and the action by Egerton to have been his response to Roger having proceeded against him before the Council in the Marches; the fact that Roger had begun this suit suggests that he, rather than his father, was exploiting the coal measures. There are references in the family papers to other actions in which Sir Thomas was involved; in 1604 Thomas Edwards of Cyngreawdr bound himself in £40 to Sir Thomas (and vice-versa) that they would both abide by the arbitration of John Wynn of Gwydir and George Davies in a dispute over lands and boundaries in Creuddyn.⁵⁸ There had been various disputes between them which were to be heard before the Council in the Marches. There was also an action against Piers Pennant over ploughing of which only counsel's opinion for Sir Thomas has survived.⁵⁹

But it is Sir Roger who is the best-documented of the Mostyn litigants whose careers fall within the scope of this study. Much of the litigation to which he was a party arose from the affairs of Robert Wynn of Conway, the builder of Plas Mawr in that town and the uncle of Sir John. In 1611 an action was brought against him in the Court of Requests by Thomas Wynn, Ellen Wynn, Griffith Madryn and his wife Sidney Wynn, and Mary Wynn, the children of Robert.⁶⁰ Since they were all under age the action was prosecuted by William Williams of Vaynol, their step-father, and their mother. They stated in their bill that by a deed of 16 January, 1593, Robert Wynn had conveyed all his lands in Caernarvonshire and Merioneth to Roger Mostyn

57. The exploitation of the coal measures at Mostyn is discussed in Chapter VI above.

58. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6857.

59. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6838.

60. P.R.O. Reg. 2/399/84.

and others to various uses.⁶¹ These included making provision for his wife Dorothy's jointure and for raising money for his daughters' portions and the nomination of someone to take the issues of his lands for this purpose; the deed was now in Sir Roger's custody. In October, 1595, Robert made his will and in it he said that Richard Gwynn and Roger Mostyn should occupy various lands in the two counties held under a crown lease until they had accumulated enough of the income to pay his debts and the marriage portions of his four children who were each to have £400 when they came of age. If any of them married before this time the portion was to be paid within half a year of the marriage as long as it was approved by the two trustees, Robert's widow, and her mother Katherine Leighton.⁶² The trustees were not only to be responsible for raising the portions but also to make the best possible use of the income to raise them. Dorothy was to have £40 annually for the children's maintenance. The youngest daughter, Mary, was born after the making of the will and a codicil was added, leaving her £500 to be raised in the same way as the other portions. Richard Gwynn refused to accept the tutorship of Robert's son Thomas and the charge of the will so the whole burden fell on Roger Mostyn. Robert Wynn died in November, 1598, and Roger proved his will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; as the children were still under age he had custody of the lands.

The complaint against Sir Roger was one of misappropriating the income from Robert's estate and failing to account for it. The lands were of the annual value of £220. 6. 8d. and the total revenue for the ten years following Robert Wynn's death was £2,209. 6s. 8d. Sir Roger had also received various other sums of money including £50 from the sale of Wynn's chattels and £14 in settlement of a debt, making a grand total of £2,278. 6s. 8d. This was more than enough to pay all the legacies and portions; indeed there was enough in hand for the latter to be increased. All the children were over 16 and Sidney had married. But Sir Roger

61. The other feoffees were Sir William Hamner, Richard Gwynn, and Hugh Gwynn.

62. Katherine Leighton was Sir Roger's aunt (Mostyn & Glenn, p. 95).

'respectinge more his owne private gaine' had kept the money in his own hands and had only paid the portion of the eldest daughter Katherine, who had married her step-brother Thomas Williams, and she had only had £400. He had also said publicly that he would never pay the portions or agree to the daughters' marriages but would put the money to his own use and the court was asked to order him to account for it.

In his answer Sir Roger confirmed the contents of the original deed and of the will but claimed that the income from the lands was not as great as stated in the bill. He had paid various sums in pursuance of the responsibilities laid on him, though he could not remember the details. He had always been ready to render a full account to William Williams, Dorothy, and the children and was willing to pay anything that was, as yet, unpaid. He did not agree that the lands were of the annual value stated in the bill or that the total income over ten years was what the complainants claimed. He had not received the other sums mentioned, nor had he put any money to his own private gain. In a further answer he added that most of Robert Wynn's goods and chattels had gone, as he thought, to William Williams and Dorothy. He had received the rents for a certain period but only from part of the lands, and since then Williams and Dorothy had received the rents and were still doing so, without accounting to him. He asked for the case to be dismissed. In their replication the complainants repeated the points made in their original bill.

This action, of the result of which there is no record, was not the end of the dispute; more than a decade later a Chancery action was brought by Sir Roger against Sir William Williams, by now a baronet, and Dorothy.⁶³ The bill again recited Robert Wynn's conveyance of his lands to trustees and his will, and went on to say that after her remarriage Dorothy had forbidden the tenants to pay their rents to Roger, claiming in letters to him and his father that she and her husband

63. P.R.O. C3/366/26. The papers relating to these Chancery actions are in a sad state of disarray; it appears that parts of particular Chancery proceedings were wrongly sorted at some time with the result that documents which appear to relate to different cases may be parts of a single one.

should have the rents since she was the mother of the children; Sir Roger added that he was cousin-german to Robert Wynn, while Richard Gwynn was his nephew. The defendants were refusing to account to him for the money received from the lands and were trying to persuade the children to sue him for their portions. Williams and his wife replied that the children had not been getting the money intended for them and that they had proceeded against Sir Roger in the Court of Requests without any satisfactory results; a commission had also been issued out of the Council in the Marches to investigate the question. All the lands were part of the ffriddoedd of Dolwyddelan.⁶⁴ They also denied having taken any of the rents and Williams denied having used any of the money to buy lands for his son. Sir Roger discussed the action in two letters written to his father-in-law in December, 1624. In the first he mentioned that Lady Williams and her husband had forbidden the Dolwyddelan tenants to pay their rents to him and since the lands in question were now held by Sir John he notified him of his intention to have these tenants examined.⁶⁵ He added that Robert Wynn had been incapacitated for some years before his death and that his wife had managed his affairs and that the validity of the codicil whereby a portion of £500 was left to his youngest daughter Mary was highly questionable:

The pointe wilbe, to prove that he was of noe disposinge memory at the tyme of the makeinge of the Codicill, whereunto noe hand nor seale was putt by Robert Wynne, nor did he in trueth speake one word, but onely a noat was drawn by Richard Wynne and redde before him, which is proved comuni forma

He had long ago offered to pay the money due and he was more concerned that the son, Thomas Wynn, should be satisfied than any of the others. In the second letter he said that all the portions had, in fact, been paid.⁶⁶

The dispute was resumed in 1627, again in Chancery.⁶⁷ Again Sir Roger was the plaintiff and according to the writ, dated 21 February, 1627, he had complained

64. Ffridd (pl. ffriddoedd): rough mountain pasture, sheep-walk, waste.

65. N.L.W. 9060/1272; 20 December, 1624.

66. N.L.W. 9060/1273; 23 December, 1624.

67. P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings (Mitford), C8/61/19.

against Sir Thomas Williams, baronet, Henry Williams, John Wynn, Mary Salusbury, Griffith Madryn and his wife Sidney, Ellen Wynn, and Thomas Wynn. In his bill he once again told the story of the conveyance and the will; he also included the points made in his first letter to Sir John, saying that immediately after Mary's birth Robert Wynn was badly smitten with the palsy and his life despaired of (which suggests that he had had a stroke); in view of his illness he had a note drawn up stating that he was leaving £500 to Mary on the same terms as the legacies to the other daughters. It appears that Sir Roger had been made a trustee without his knowledge, being related to Dorothy.⁶⁸ When Robert Wynn died Dorothy accounted for his chattels to her brother Sir William Dymock during the minority of the children who were named executors. Sir Roger now accused her of using his name without his consent to advance her own ends when he was unwilling to undertake the trust; she had asked him to be a trustee in name only, assuring him that she would see that the children's interests were protected. This had convinced him of her good faith and he had paid some of Robert's debts out of his own pocket, expecting to get his money back when the estate was finally settled; he had then agreed to await repayment while the money earmarked for the payment of debts was put to other purposes. He had regarded himself as no more than an accountant as far as the estate was concerned and did not expect to be called to account for the money to anyone else. He had often helped out of his own pocket and Katherine had had her portion when she came of age. Dorothy's remarriage was followed by various suits between Sir John Wynn, Robert's son John, and herself concerning various farms; her object seems to have been to untie her former husband's arrangements so that she and Williams could receive the rents 'with lamentacion that other wise shee & her children should all be utterly undone'. She then seemed to have had some kind of suspicion of Sir Roger, who considered that she was responsible for involving him in the business in the first place, and of his father-in-law and to

68. Sir Roger's aunt, Katherine Leighton, was Dorothy's mother by her first marriage to Thomas Dymock of Willington (Edward in Mostyn & Glenn, p. 95).

have doubted his impartiality. Put briefly, Sir Roger's case was that Williams and his wife had been diverting the rents, while they maintained that he had been putting them to his own use.

Sir Thomas Williams, the son of Sir William, answered the bill, citing Sir Roger's answers to the bill brought against him in the Court of Requests sixteen years previously; in these he had said that Robert Wynn had reposed all his trust and confidence in him and that he had accordingly undertaken the responsibility and received the rents for eight years. The lands were worth £220 annually, so Sir Roger had received a total of £1,760 from which he had only paid Katherine's portion of £400. She was now Sir Thomas's wife. Sir Roger now had a large sum of money in his hands. He was only to pay those debts due by bond or obligation but Williams had heard that Robert Wynn had had no such debts so that anything paid by Sir Roger on this score ought not to have been disbursed. In 1611 Sir Roger had exhibited a bill in Chancery against Sir William and Lady Williams in which he said that the trust had been absolutely reposed in him by Robert Wynn and this had been answered to the effect that he was therefore responsible for paying the portions and the debts.⁶⁹ About five years previously he had brought another bill against them and Williams had denied that his wife had ever received the rents. She had said that Sir Roger had received a total of £2,378. 6s. 8d. which he had not used under the terms of the trust but had converted to his own use. Without the consent of her husband, who had refused to have anything to do with the matter, but with the assent of Sir Roger she had, out of natural affection and a desire for the preferment of her children, received the rents for six years and out of the consequent total of £1,194 she had paid the portions of Ellen and Sidney and had been very ready to account for this money. Williams and his wife had lived for about three years after this and the case had gone no further. Sir Thomas went on to discuss a tenement allegedly bought with the profits of the trust lands, saying

69. In his answer to the bill exhibited in the Court of Requests in 1611 Sir Roger stated that he had exhibited a bill in Chancery against Williams and Dorothy (P.R.O. Req.2/399/84).

that it had been bought by him during his father's lifetime. He denied that his father and step-mother had forbidden the tenants to pay their rents to Sir Roger or that they had let any of the lands; neither had they exhibited a bill in the Court of Requests calling themselves the guardians of the children.⁷⁰ He also said that he thought that a lawsuit between Sir John Wynn and John, one of the sons of Robert Wynn, was maintained by Dorothy and John and not by Sir Roger as had been claimed.

There follow the answers of Sir Thomas's brother Henry and of Griffith Madryn and his wife Sidney, who denied everything. Mary Salusbury, Robert's youngest daughter stated that in the Easter term of 1622 she and her husband had exhibited a bill against Sir Roger for her portion of £500; the case had finally been heard on 16 October last. When she had reached the age of 21 about ten years before the hearing, having in the meantime married William Salusbury, who was often demanding payment with interest, Sir Roger was asked for the money; he had replied that her mother had been receiving the profits from the lands since 1608 and that he therefore refused to pay although in fact he was still receiving the income. The court decreed that he should pay Mary and her husband the portion with damages of 20 nobles per cent since her coming of age and she appealed that the decree should be upheld.⁷¹ John and Thomas, the sons of Robert Wynn, answered jointly; John said that the lawsuit between himself and Sir John Wynn was during his minority since he had only been eight when his father died and in any case it was not relevant to the issue. He had had the profits of the lands for a year, the seventeenth after his father's death, but Sir Roger was otherwise getting £300 annually out of them although they had been settled on him. He added that Sir Roger was also having the income from other freehold lands of his and that he had had nothing until the death of his mother two and

70. This was a lie; this was precisely what they had said in their bill (P.R.O. Reg. 2/399/84).

71. No papers relating to this action have been found among the Chancery proceedings.

a half years previously. Thomas stated that he had received none of his portion nor any part of his father's personal estate. He admitted that his step-father had borrowed £250 from Sir Roger as part of his portion in order to buy lands for him and that this had been done.⁷²

Two other documents relating to this suit have at some time become detached; the first is William Salusbury's answer to Sir Roger's bill.⁷³ Like his wife he mentioned the Chancery action to obtain payment of her portion and recited the decree; in fact his evidence was very much the same as hers. He also admitted that they had received various household goods from his mother-in-law; nevertheless, responsibility for the payment of the portion rested entirely with Sir Roger and he added that he would not get nearly as much under the decree as was due to him. Before the marriage Sir Roger had told him to take security for his wife's portion from her mother or her friends and that he had none of the money, having long ago yielded to her desire to manage the business; he had also advised him not to marry until he had had that security. The second document is his wife's rejoinder.⁷⁴ In this she denied ever having received any money from anyone towards the payment of her portion, nor had her husband received anything. She also denied that neither her mother, her brother, nor her step-father, nor anyone else had given or agreed to give any portion to her husband or any security for its payment; she admitted, however, that her mother had given her various things since her marriage, such as cattle, poultry, butter, cheese, linen, and other household things towards her housekeeping 'by way of motherly friendship and curtesie' but these were never intended as part of her portion.

These were not the only Chancery cases to arise from the will of Robert Wynn. On 5 November, 1611, his son John had exhibited a bill against Sir Roger and

72. This reference indicates that some of the papers relating to the case are missing.

73. P.R.O. C2/Charles I/M34/68.

74. P.R.O. C2/Charles I/M56/35.

others.⁷⁵ According to the bill Robert Wynn had held a crown lease of the townships and ffriddoedd of Dolwyddelan; these were the lands which he had assigned to his trustees and after his death they were supposed to assign all their rights there to the complainant as his son and heir. Three of the trustees, Sir William Hanmer, Hugh Gwyn Griffith, and Richard Gwyn had refused to act but Sir Roger had agreed and had allowed Robert to take the issues during his lifetime. There were also certain reckonings and accounts between Robert and his nephew Sir John which had been settled before his death. But since then Sir Roger had obtained possession of these accounts and various other papers relating to Robert's affairs, including his will, and had refused to hand them over to the heir, although asked for them several times, since Sir John Wynn was threatening to sue his cousin for money already paid and he therefore needed the accounts to prove payment. He had so far failed to obtain any response from Sir Roger who had also refused to assign the Dolwyddelan lease to him; he therefore asked for a writ of subpoena to find out what documents Sir Roger had in his possession if nothing else.

Sir Roger's answer was dated 3 January, 1612. He did not deny the Dolwyddelan lease and he referred to Robert Wynn's original deed under which he was to be allowed to occupy a messuage called Coetmor and lands there and to keep the issues during his lifetime. He had also stipulated that his wife was to have a life interest in Coetmor after his death and was to be followed there by John and his heirs; detailed provisions were made for the devolution of the property should there be none. Although most of the children were still under age, others were bringing suits against him in their names to molest him and waste their portions. For many years Sir William Williams and his wife had been receiving the income from the lands and he had been forced to exhibit a bill in Chancery against them; if this failed, the children would have no remedy. He denied that John Wynn had ever asked him to assign the Dolwyddelan lease to him or that he had any other papers in his possession relating to Robert Wynn's estate; nor had

75. P.R.O. C2/James I/W8/15; this, presumably, was the action to which John referred in his answer to Sir Roger's bill in 1627 (P.R.O. C8/61/19).

he any papers relating to any transaction between Sir John Wynn and his uncle. All the estate papers were in a locked chest in Robert Wynn's house which now belonged to his son; he had had the key until four years previously when Lady Williams had sent for it, claiming that the children should have it, so he had handed it to her messenger. He had no papers relating to any transactions with Sir John, nor had John Wynn ever told him of any threatened litigation.

All three suits stemmed from the affairs, and particularly of the will, of Robert Wynn, soldier, builder of Plas Mawr, and prolific father in his old age.⁷⁶ Trusteeships could often lead to litigation, especially when widows remarried, since this was almost bound to lead to a clash between the new husband and the trustees. If Sir Roger had indeed pocketed the rents from the trust lands this would help to explain his extensive land purchases before 1618; on the other hand he seems generally to have been trusted and respected in North Wales. It is also interesting to note that he had been associated with the Gwydir family before his marriage to Mary Wynn, possibly because of his kinship with Katherine Leighton.⁷⁷ The suits were bound up with the whole complicated Dolwyddelan issue and they may also have reflected the bad relations which at times existed between Gwydir and Vaynol;⁷⁸ the rivalries and contests of Caernarvonshire politics could often manifest themselves in litigation. The overall impression one has from the documents, apart from an increased awareness of the hazards of trusteeship, is that Sir Roger was not at fault; he was consistent in his claims and his defence while the arguments of the other parties contain, as this discussion shows, a number of inconsistencies and, at least once, an outright lie.

Dolwyddelan was a fruitful source of litigation; there were a number of actions in the Exchequer during the reign of James I and Sir Roger, as Robert Wynn's

76. For Robert Wynn see History of the Gwydir Family, pp. 69-71.

77. This seems to be the only possible reason; he did not marry Mary Wynn until 1596.

78. Vaynol supported the Cefnamwlch party in the 1620 election ('The Wynn family and estate', p. 379) and in 1624 Owen Wynn referred to Thomas Williams as 'your adversarie' (N.L.W. 9059/1172).

trustee, was a party to some of them;⁷⁹ indeed, in 1610, in this capacity he was one of those sued by his father-in-law, whereas in 1618-9 he was accused by John Wynn of confederating with Sir John and the Dolwyddelan tenants to defraud him.⁸⁰ It was Dolwyddelan, of course, that was one of the causes of Sir John's disgrace in 1615. Most crown land cases found their way into the Exchequer; bond townships were usually granted to crown farmers on condition that they then re-demised each tenement to the occupier whose ancestors had lived there from time immemorial.⁸¹ There was also much litigation between families jockeying for position and anxious to gain control of as much crown land as possible; from this the lawyers were the only gainers.

A suit over a seat in Holywell church was brought against one Ellis Jones in the consistory court of St. Asaph in 1620.⁸² The seat belonged to a messuage in Bagillt where Oliver Jones had once lived. Sir Roger Mostyn and his ancestors had owned this property for anything up to 100 years, along with lands of an annual value of about £20. Oliver Jones and other tenants had been entitled to use 'one forme sitting and buring place adioyning there to the partition betwene the Chauncell and the bodie of the said Ile ...' which had belonged to the proprietors and residents of the house since time immemorial. Oliver Jones had lived there for 50 years as tenant of the Mostyns and he was succeeded as tenant by his son Nicholas who went on using the seat;⁸³ both he and Nicholas were buried there. For the greater part of ten years Nicholas had attended Whitford church, being the servant of Sir Thomas Mostyn, and when he died the house at

79. For the cases to which Sir Roger was a party see T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales in tempore James I, pp. 50 (this is undated in the calendar but the date is given in C.W.P. 554), 71, 74; for other actions, *ibid.*, pp. 46, 47, 51. Many letters in C.W.P. also relate to the affair, which is discussed in 'The Wynn family and estate', pp. 90, 144ff. The lands had originally been leased to Robert Wynn and the future Sir John by the crown lessee, Sir Thomas Leighton (T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, Op. cit., pp. 46-7).

80. T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, Op. cit., pp. 50, 71.

81. *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

82. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6859.

83. Two leases of the property to Oliver Jones, granted in 1580 and 1610, are among the family papers (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2479-80).

Bagillt was granted by Sir Roger to his kinsman William Mostyn. Ellis Jones, who had no lands or anything else in Holywell, had taken to using it and he would not allow William to occupy it, although asked to move. The result of the case was that Jones had to give up his claim to the bench; he had little choice but to do so.

Several other cases relate to property in Flintshire. In one undated Chancery suit Sir Roger stated in his bill that his grandfather William Mostyn had been seised of a messuage and various named pieces of land in Whitford.⁸⁴ About 60 years ago these lands had been leased to William ap John ap Llywelyn, the father of the defendant John ap William ap John, at an annual rent of 3s. 4d. 'and certayne presents and services as other tenants at will used to doe'. William Mostyn was succeeded by his son Thomas, who, 'being unwilling to displace any tenant did upon the death of his then late father and for valuable consideracion' allow the tenant to stay on the same terms.⁸⁵ Sir Thomas died in 1618 and William ap John two years before the action; the property should then have reverted to Sir Roger but John ap William had got hold of some deeds and was now refusing to relinquish it. He had also been tampering with the boundaries of these lands, which were scattered among others belonging to Sir Roger, and in his answer he claimed that they were his, claiming that William Mostyn had had an estate in them 80 years ago but they had been occupied for a long time by his ancestors among their other freehold lands. His grandfather John ap Llywelyn ap Ithel had been lawfully seised of them about 70 years ago. He had made an exchange with William Mostyn of lands in Trefednywain adjoining a place called Dol y Felin.⁸⁶ A watercourse was to be made through Dol y Felin to take water from a brook

84. P.R.O. C3/409/182.

85. William ap John ap Llywelyn was paying 3s. 4d. rent for land in Whitford in 1576 and at the end of the century (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 88a; 5484).

86. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3038 is a deed of exchange dated 15 May, 1552, between William and Thomas Mostyn and John ap Llywelyn ap Ithel, free tenant of Whitford Garn. John conveyed two parcels in Whitford Garn and one in Trefednywain, between Ffos y Felin and a stream, to the Mostyns; in exchange he received four parcels in Whitford Garn, most of which adjoined lands he already held.

called Yr Hen Afon. William Mostyn was to have and enjoy a portion of John ap Llywelyn's soil in Trefednywain adjoining Dol y Felin to make a watermill there; he was also to be able to make a watercourse through John's land to convey water from Yr Hen Afon to the site of the mill. In return for this William Mostyn had allowed John to occupy the lands in dispute at an annual rent of 3s. 4d. He had, in fact, built the mill, and his family had always taken the profit from it, but for the last two and a half years, since the death of William ap John, Sir Roger had refused to accept the rent although the defendant was ready to pay it; in his answer he also defended his title back to the reign of Henry VIII. This is an interesting case, involving as it does the question of tenancy-at-will and past agreements.

In 1633 a Chancery suit was brought against Sir Roger by Hugh and Henry Roberts over mineral rights at Mostyn.⁸⁷ In their bill they stated that one Edward Powell of Mostyn had been seised of two fields there. Between one of these fields and Mynydd Mostyn there was a ditch of which Powell and his ancestors had always been regarded as the undoubted freehold owners, having until recently been able to take earth, gravel, stones and lead from it; the ditch was very rich in lead and lead ore. Powell had married the niece of the complainants, by whom he had a daughter; by a deed of 18 August, 1631, in consideration of the sum of 20 marks and for raising a portion for his daughter from the profits of the lead mines, Powell and his wife leased the land to Hugh Roberts for 7 years at an annual rent of 26s. 8d. to work the lead. The lead mines in Rhuddlan and Coleshill commotes had, in 1613, been leased to Richard Gwyn, one of Prince Henry's huntsmen; Gwyn had assigned the lease to Sir Richard Grosvenor and William Dymock but this did not affect Hugh Roberts's rights since the workings in question were not on the crown waste.⁸⁸ But Sir Roger Mostyn had somehow gained possession of the crown lease and, seeing that the lead ore was very profitable and under colour

87. P.R.O. C3/413/79; the case is discussed in Chapter VI.

88. For actions brought by Grosvenor relating to lead mines see T. I. Jeffreys-Jones, *Op. cit.*, pp. 202, 205.

of the grant to him of the manor of Mostyn, he claimed all the lead found in the ditch as his property. He had brought an action of trespass against Hugh Roberts at the Great Sessions; this had succeeded because witnesses were afraid to testify against him and he was awarded damages of £49. 5s. The plaintiffs asked for the case to be heard in Chancery. Unfortunately, Sir Roger's answer has not survived.

Sir Roger's son Sir Thomas was a party to two surviving cases. In February, 1636, he began a Chancery suit against John Jones of Llys.⁸⁹ In his bill he said that Thomas Davies, late of Sychtyn, had in the previous August been seised of a messuage and tenement there where John Conway and his wife Anne were living. Anne held it for her lifetime in dower of her late husband David Kendrick, the father of Thomas Davies. Last August Davies had visited Sir Thomas at his house at Cilcain and had told him that he needed money and had therefore decided to sell the reversion; he entreated Sir Thomas to buy it. After a long discussion it was agreed that for 10s. down and £100 paid within 14 days Davies would convey the property to Sir Thomas when he asked for it. Within the next fortnight Sir Thomas collected £100 'not without some inconvenience to his other occasions' but John Jones then intervened. He knew about the agreement but combined with Davies 'out of a spleenish disposition' and out of malice towards Sir Thomas. As a result Davies disappeared, so that he could not be found when Sir Thomas wished to pay the money and clear the conveyance; Jones then bought the property from him cheap, as he had subsequently admitted. Since then he had removed Davies to somewhere unknown to Sir Thomas, who now demanded that he should be made to reveal what agreement had been reached about the property and held to the original bargain since he was ready to pay. In his answer Jones denied any knowledge of Davies's agreement with Sir Thomas. He happened to have bargained with him for the purchase of a quillet which was part of the land in dispute and one day he had been in Northop when Davies and John Conway were also there and had tried to settle the matter. John Conway had remarked that Davies had sold the

89. P.R.O. C2/Chancery I/M41/34.

lands to Sir Thomas but Jones did not know whether he had really done so since Davies denied it with many vows and protestations. He denied any malice to Sir Thomas or any attempt to conceal Davies who had, in front of witnesses, offered to sell him the reversion and mentioned various other people, not including Sir Thomas, to whom he would offer it. Jones was persuaded and agreed to pay £100 along with £6. 18s. for some other small pieces of land in Sychtyn; Davies then conveyed it to trustees to his use and thus the land was now his. If Sir Thomas's complaint was true, he had certainly been shabbily treated.

The final case was one relating to the Pengwern estate, heard by the Council in the Marches at Ludlow in 1629. It was brought by Sir Thomas Myddelton against Sir Thomas Mostyn and others, which suggests that Sir Roger had made the Pengwern estate over to his eldest son. According to Myddelton's bill two parcels called Coed y Garth and Coed Pengwern were part of the waste of his lordship of Chirkland.⁹⁰ They were unenclosed and contained about 200 acres in Pengwern and Llangollen Fechan; they had always been part of the waste and the tenants had always had common rights there. In 1598 Myddelton had bought the lordship from Lord St. John of Bletso and had thereafter enjoyed the two parcels on which his tenants had always grazed their cattle without hindrance. Then, on 15 November last, his servant William Evans had cut down some trees worth 20s. in Coed Pengwern, whereupon the other defendants, by the procurement of Sir Thomas Mostyn, took the trees away and subsequently interfered with the plaintiff and his tenants, stopping him from felling trees and them from grazing their cattle. The defendants replied that the parcels were two different ones with known boundaries and Sir Thomas Mostyn set forth his title; his great-grandfather William had been seised of a capital messuage in Pengwern called Llys y Cilgwyn and of Coed Pengwern containing 60 acres as part of the demesne, except for four acres late of Dafydd ap Evan ap Owen. On 26 September, 1569, William and his heir had conveyed the messuage and Coed y Llys or Coed Pengwern to feoffees to

90. N.L.W. Chirk Castle 11263 (record of bill, answer and depositions).

the use of himself for life with remainder to his son Thomas and his heirs.⁹¹ William died about fifty years ago and his son Thomas then had seisin; his son William died without issue about 1586 and then, on 27 April, 1607, Sir Thomas, Sir Roger and young Thomas again conveyed the lands to feoffees by way of settlement.⁹²

Old Sir Thomas had died about eleven years ago and all former uses were revoked on 22 May, 1622; on 15 September, 1623, the lands were again conveyed to feoffees, this time to the use of the defendant and his wife Elizabeth. He admitted that Coed y Garth, otherwise known as Coed y Rhingyll, was part of the lord's waste and merely claimed common of pasture there. The other defendants admitted taking away an oak tree in right of their landlord, Sir Thomas Mostyn. In his replication the plaintiff maintained that the parcels were together and unenclosed, forming one common, and he denied the defendants' title to Coed Pengwern. A number of depositions followed; John Owen, aged 60, said that he had always enjoyed common of pasture in Coed Pengwern but that those who did were always restrained from cutting wood by the Mostyn tenants, while David Price, aged 68, said that the Mostyns were the reputed owners of Coed Pengwern and that he had never heard of any claims by the lord of Chirkland until just before the suit. Edward ap David stated that old Sir Thomas had given him and others instructions to preserve the timber; the tenants usually turned dogs on those who used the wood as waste without permission.

The Council issued a decree at Bewdley on 1 September, 1629.⁹³ After reciting the issues they concluded that it was a matter better tried at common law and ruled that the plaintiff should enjoy common of pasture in Coed Pengwern unless and until his title to do so was disproved.⁹⁴ The case is of interest in that it shows a clash over the manorial rights which were now all that survived of

91. The original deed is U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 98. In 1569 William Mostyn held a capital messuage and 6 other tenements in Pengwern containing a total of 250 acres, for which he rendered 17s. 1d. annually to the lord of Chirkland (N.L.W. Chirk Castle F 14000, m. 24b).

92. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1715; see also 1723.

93. N.L.W. Chirk Castle 12851.

94. There is no record of any further action among the family papers.

marcher lordship. A survey of the Pengwern estate made in 1617 shows Coed Pengwern as part of the demesne and there is a note on it of the survey having been shown on 7 May, 1629, to Roger Lewis, a witness examined by Sir Thomas Mostyn in the case against Sir Thomas Myddelton.⁹⁵

One further case remains to be mentioned; in 1634 Sir Roger brought an action of debt in the Court of Common Pleas against Dr. William Griffith of Carreglwyd in Anglesey, the lessee of the rectory of Whitford. Only the defendant's affidavit survives;⁹⁶ in this he said that the action was over the sum of £200 which he had offered to pay. The bishop of St. Asaph, who was Dr. Griffith's father-in-law, had intended to visit Sir Roger, who was 'ancient and not able to travell himselfe' to try to reconcile the parties but had not been able to do so due to illness. It is almost certain that this action was concerned with the Whitford tithes; in 1633 the rectory had been leased to William Griffith for three lives by his brother George, the then rector and future bishop of St. Asaph.⁹⁷ Sir Roger had been leasing the tithes from Sir Dudley Norton of Nantwich and his wife, at least since 1619;⁹⁸ Norton had had a lease from the sinecure rector. It is possible that the £200 was some sort of compensation for Sir Roger; the Mostyn interest in the tithes was certainly one of long standing and after the Restoration the attempt of Sir Roger's grandson and namesake, the first baronet, was a cause célèbre.⁹⁹

This is all the recorded litigation in which the Mostyns were involved during this period. It has been discussed in detail because these cases are probably

95. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

96. N.L.W. Carreglwyd I, 1832.

97. The lease is N.L.W. Roger Lloyd Deeds, I, 17.

98. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3138 is correspondence between Sir Roger and the Nortons, 1619-31, relating to the lease; it is discussed briefly in Chapter V.

99. Hugh Whitford claimed during the Star Chamber suit against him that William Mostyn was interested in the tithes (P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 5/W21/38) and in 1570 William leased the rectory from Sir Henry Sidney (H.M.C. Reports, LXXVII: De Lisle I, p. 358). The post-Restoration case is discussed in detail by Thomas Richards, 'The Whitford leases: a battle of wits' in Trans. Cymm., 1924-5, pp. 1-76.

fairly typical of the kind of lawsuits brought by and against landowning families at this time. Any family of standing might find itself involved in actions over tithes, crown lands, mineral rights, rights of common, and pews. The Star Chamber action against Hugh Whitford may have stemmed in part from the desire of William Mostyn to control the tithes of the parish in which he lived but at the same time it was natural that the bishop should seek the aid of the most prominent layman in the locality to deal with an unsatisfactory incumbent, especially one who was the third successive member of his family to occupy the living. The sharp practice which may have been connected with the lease of the manor of Gogarth was not uncommon, particularly where leases of church property were concerned. The long-drawn-out suits over Dolwyddelan and the will of Robert Wynn seem originally to have been the result of his kinship with Robert Wynn's wife; the marriage to Mary Wynn came later. These suits were part of a long and complicated dispute which was ultimately bound up with the affairs of Sir John Wynn, and they also illustrate the hazards of trusteeship, especially when a widowed mother remarried. The Exchequer actions over coal-mining at Mostyn were probably the consequence of a new awareness of the potential of the coal measures and the desire of Piers Mostyn of Talacre to win a share of the profits. All in all the Mostyn litigation was undramatic; there were no vast and complicated actions relating to the affairs of the estate and no great quarrels with neighbours. Most cases were brought in the Exchequer or Chancery;¹⁰⁰ it may not be without significance that no actions, on the evidence of the surviving records, were brought against the Mostyns in Star Chamber. The suits against Sir John Wynn in that court may testify to his unpopularity in many quarters in Caernarvonshire and it might possibly be argued that the Mostyns were better thought of by their neighbours. To sum up, therefore, it appears that in their litigation, as in so many other things, the Mostyns

100. A sample check of Great Sessions plea rolls for Flintshire has failed to reveal any actions of importance though some suits were undoubtedly brought there (e.g. the action over the Mostyn lead mines in 1633). Much of the business they record is final concords and similar transactions and detailed examination would probably reveal a number of minor pleas but nothing substantial.

maintained a low profile; they did not use the courts to increase their possessions or to carry on disputes with their neighbours and for a family of their wealth and importance the sum total of their litigation is small.

CHAPTER NINE

EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE

The chapter which follows is an attempt to consider two of the personal aspects of the history of the Mostyn family before 1642. As in the case of the other topics dealt with in this study, its shape is dictated by the evidence available and most of this comes from the seventeenth century, that is, from the lifetime of Sir Roger Mostyn. For the preceding period there is very little material; indeed, as far as domestic life is concerned there is practically nothing since no household accounts and no pre-Restoration family letters have survived. The Mostyn archives are extensive but the task of the historian of the family is bedevilled by the vast gaps in them, although one can never be sure of what might yet come to light. Education and marriage, however, are important topics and their examination must shed some light on the development of the family and its fortunes as well as on contemporary attitudes.

(a). Education

Little is known about the education of the medieval uchelwr. Many were undoubtedly literate, some, like Ieuan Fychan, being men of considerable cultural attainment, but how and where they learned to read and write is another question.¹ Serious interest in education as such did not really appear until the sixteenth century and was one of the fruits of the revival of learning. Men like Richard ap Hywel and the first Thomas Mostyn might have been taught their letters by a domestic chaplain or local priest but it is most unlikely that they would have gone to school. The first member of the family who definitely attended a university was Henry, one of the sons of William Mostyn, who graduated B.A. at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1574 and proceeded to M.A. in 1577;² he took orders

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1. For a brief discussion of the education and abilities of this class see E. J. Jones, Education in Wales during the Middle Ages (1949), especially pp. 35-42, and for an account of personal experience, Ieuan ap Rhydderch's 'Cywydd y Fost' (Iolo Goch ac Eraill, pp. 228-32). Sir John Wynn referred to his great-grandfather Maredudd ab Ieuan ap Robert having been put to school at Caernarvon where he learned reading, writing, English and Latin (History of the Gwydir Family, p. 50).
 2. The career of the Rev. Henry Mostyn is described briefly in Chapter IV; the question of Ieuan Fychan's reputed university education is considered in Chapter I.

and eventually became vicar of Rhuddlan. But the first heir of whose attendance at university there is a record was the future Sir Roger Mostyn. He matriculated at Brasenose on 8 May, 1584;³ there is no record of his having taken a degree there and in 1588 he became a student of Lincoln's Inn. By this time this was the usual educational pattern for the sons of gentlemen; the influence of the renaissance had made this class aware of the importance of education which was now essential for anyone seeking advancement in the world. Something more than mere literacy was now required, not only for budding courtiers, lawyers, and members of parliament, but also for landowners who might be called upon to serve as justices of the peace and deputy-lieutenants as well as managing their estates.⁴ At Oxford and Cambridge the gentry became acquainted with something, at least, of the culture of Greece and Rome on which the contemporary intellectual world was based; as so often since, this was combined with the making of useful contacts for the future and the acquaintance of the sons of other gentlemen with whom there might one day be dealings at Westminster or Ludlow. A period at one of the Inns of Court was equally useful; the law was the main avenue of advancement for ambitious young Welshmen, especially younger sons, but some legal knowledge was essential for every future landowner who had to know something about the complexities of leases, entails, settlements and similar matters and who might have to administer the laws as a justice or engage in litigation.⁵ Some doubt has been cast on the quality of the legal education available at the Inns of Court at this time but if a year or so there did nothing else, it at least enabled the sons of country gentlemen to acquire a certain metropolitan polish.⁶

Some education was required before proceeding to the university and this was provided either by a private tutor or by one of the grammar schools which in the

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3. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, p. 1041; a number of Welsh families sent their sons to Brasenose around this time, among them the Pulestons, the Mansels and the Stradlings (I am grateful to Mr. W. P. Griffith for this point).
 4. For discussion of this topic see Joan Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (1966), pp. 293-6, 355-9, and G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales, p. 198.
 5. G. Dyfnallt Owen, Op. cit., p. 214.
 6. H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540-1640, pp. 195-6; see also A. L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth (1964), pp. 522-3 for discussion of the Inns of Court.

sixteenth century were being founded throughout England and to some extent also in Wales. There is no information about Roger's early education; there were already grammar schools at Ruthin and Bangor but there is no evidence of his having attended either of them. His father was certainly aware of the importance of education; not only did he send his heir to Oxford but also his step-son (and probable ward) Piers Griffith of Penrhyn. In one of the Mostyn account books there are details of his expenditure on sending Piers to Oxford in March, 1587, and of various sums sent to him there by the carrier;⁷ the total expenditure amounted to £51. 17s. 10d. More is known of the education of Sir Roger's sons in the next generation. To begin with they had a tutor and Thomas, the eldest, seems to have remained in his charge. Unfortunately some of the letters which relate to this subject are undated but a note in one of the account books records that Thomas Mostyn was put to Mr. Holmes on 7 May, 1614.⁸ In a letter written on 25 February Sir Roger praised Holmes; there is no year on the letter but internal evidence would suggest that it was written in 1615.⁹ Holmes was obviously ambitious; on one occasion Sir Roger asked Sir John Wynn to look for a new tutor for his children since he had been offered a cure in Northamptonshire by John Williams, at that time the Lord Chancellor's chaplain, and was anxious to leave.¹⁰ But he would not be allowed to go until a replacement was found for young Thomas. This might not have been easy; although such a post could provide a living for a young scholar just down from the university, the life was not always an agreeable one and the opportunity of preferment was not to be missed.¹¹

At the same time Sir Roger was considering putting his other children to

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7. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 6a. For the education of wards see Joan Simon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 344-5. It was not uncommon for them to marry their guardians' daughters (*ibid.*, p. 345, n. 2); Piers Griffith married Sir Thomas's daughter Margaret.
 8. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.
 9. N.L.W. 9061/1455; the letter includes a reference to the intended match with Mr. Owen Vaughan to which there is another reference in C.W.P. 686 dated 17 March, 1615.
 10. N.L.W. 9054/606; the editor of the Calendar suggests 1612 but the fact that Holmes did not become Thomas Mostyn's tutor until 1614 would suggest that it was not written until that year at the earliest. Holmes may be the William Holmes who matriculated as a sizar at Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1607 and who graduated B.A. in 1610-1 and M.A. in 1614. He was a fellow of the college, 1617-23, and subsequently vicar, first of Meldreth (Cambs.) and then of Raunds (Northants.) (Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, I, ii, p. 399).
 11. G. Dyfnallt Owen, Op. cit., p. 213. - 310 -

school. On 16 February, 1614, he told Sir John that he had sent for Holmes to discuss them, along with the younger Gwydir children.¹² It was not easy to find a house with pasture for two cows and hay (presumably to provide the children with milk) and he asked Sir John to think the matter over; he then went on to discuss the schools available in north-east Wales:

Harden in respect of thenglish tonge is a fitt place and there yf you please they may learne to dance, a musitian beinge in the towne but thear are very many children thear and the master in some brables with a neyghbour wich yet cannot be reconciled wich may hinder the schole for that he is cyted before the hyghe comissioners at London, I purpose to send to Ruthin whear thear is a good schole, the master hath an exceedinge report

At Ruthin there was house-room, grass and hay available although fire (probably fuel) was hard to come by; at St. Asaph there was an even better school to which the bishop himself came once or twice a week to question the scholars and both these schools had drawn pupils away from Hawarden. In a letter written six days later he indicated that he had made his choice;¹³ although not mentioned it was, in fact, Hawarden. Arrangements were being made to accommodate the boys at a house near the school and he promised to let Sir John know how much this would cost. The widow who kept the house was his friend and Mostyn people always lodged with her; if the children went there she had said that she would stop taking lodgers. The evidence for the choice of Hawarden is in one of the account books;¹⁴ at the end of this volume is a note which is worth quoting in full:

Md. that the children went to hawarden upon Saturday the viith of maye, 1614 whearof vi of them were tabled at wyddow Bradshawes howse at iis. iiid. a peece weekly, viz. Elis Wyn, Harry Wyn, Tho. Parkynson, William Mostyn, Richard Mostyn and Ed. Mostyn and mary the mayd tabled at xxd. weekly.

During May, 1614, Sir Roger paid a total of £6 for the boys' board; the school-master's estimate of the costs at Hawarden is attached to one of the letters.¹⁵

These letters raise a number of interesting points. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw an increase in the number of schools in England and

12. N.L.W. 466/642.

13. N.L.W. 466/578: this letter bears no year and is dated by the editor of Calendar in 1612; it must, however, be 1614.

14. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478.

15. N.L.W. 466/642.

Wales and a corresponding increase among the upper classes in the practice of sending their children to school rather than employing private tutors to educate them at home. In addition to the endowed grammar schools there were numerous private schools which developed because a master had settled in a particular place; the grammar school at Hawarden was, however, an endowed school, albeit of recent foundation.¹⁶ The growth of these schools and their popularity with the gentry has been described as 'one of the really decisive movements in English history by which the propertied classes exploited and expanded the higher educational resources of the country';¹⁷ it owed much to the influence of men like Vives, Colet and Erasmus as well as of Burghley who laid great stress on the importance of an educated aristocracy.¹⁸ In the late sixteenth century there was an increase in the number of gentry and even of members of the aristocracy attending schools, not merely the few like Eton, Westminster, and Winchester which were already emerging as fashionable places of education and attracting the sons of nobles and gentlemen from all over England and Wales, but also the local grammar schools.¹⁹ Like all such developments the fashion soon spread to Wales and it was not long before the sons of Welsh squires were going to Shrewsbury and even further afield. Sir John Wynn founded a grammar school at Llanrwst but he sent his eldest son to Bedford, where he was taught French and Italian as well as the classical languages;²⁰ other sons were sent to Eton and to Westminster. Sir Roger, on the other hand, seems to have been satisfied with the education available nearer home; this was in keeping with the tradition of the Mostyns who always set great store by remaining on their estates.²¹ There was a certain parvenu element in Sir John Wynn, whose family had risen to prominence much later than the Mostyns, and this may explain the attraction of fashionable English schools; nevertheless, he, too, sent his younger sons to Hawarden, perhaps as a result of

16. The grammar school at Hawarden was founded in 1608 under the terms of the will of George Ledsham who left £300 to endow it (Charity Reports, Flintshire (1819-37), p. 200).

17. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, p. 303.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.

20. G. Dyfnallt Owen, Op. cit., p. 206.

21. This point is also made by J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Diddordebau diwylliannol Wyniaid Gwedir' in Llên Cymru, XI, 1.2 (1970), p. 123, n. 157.

heavy expenditure on the education of their older brothers in more glamorous establishments.²² The remark about Hawarden being a good place to cultivate the English language is particularly interesting; it indicates that Welsh was the home language of both Mostyn and Gwydir at this time although the heads of the two households corresponded with each other in English. There is, of course, a good deal of evidence that the women of the household, at least, habitually spoke Welsh and Sir John's insistence on his daughters-in-law learning the language is well-known.²³ It is also interesting to see an endowed grammar school regarded as a medium of Anglicisation; as a general rule any vernacular was banned in these establishments at this time, the pupils being expected to converse in Latin or Greek.²⁴

Sir Roger expected the school to work his sons hard and seems to have felt that the Hawarden schoolmaster was a little too generous where holidays were concerned. In a letter written on 1 June of an unspecified year he mentioned that the boys had been at Cilcain for their holidays; he was not keen on this, but he had to follow the example of other parents:²⁵

I would be loth to be noted to be more miserable than any within my neighborhood to suffer them thear when all others come home

Nevertheless, they would not stay a minute longer than was necessary; they would not come until Whitsun eve and would go back very early a week the following

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22. Henry Wynn was sent to the grammar school at St. Albans in 1615 and some of Sir Roger's sons were sent with him ('The Wynn family and estate', p. 266, citing N.L.W. 9055/690).
23. The topic is discussed by W. Ogwen Williams, 'The survival of the Welsh language after the union of England and Wales' in W.H.R., II, 1 (1964), pp. 82-4. One wonders, however, how fluent the Welsh of some of the gentry was. In 1627-8 Bulstrode Whitelocke visited Mostyn (Sir Roger was his sister's father-in-law) and attended church: '... the Vicar would have preached in Welch, butt said he was not provided to doe it in English, but Sr. Roger dispensed with the Vicar, and told me that he himselfe could not well understand the Welch sermons' (B.M. Add. MS.53726, f. 39b; I am indebted to Professor J. Gwynn Williams for this reference to Whitelocke's unpublished 'Annales of his Life'). For the account of Whitelocke's visit, see Appendix E (10).
24. For a discussion of this see G. Dyfnallt Owen, Op. cit., pp. 202-4.
25. N.L.W. 9061/1459; the fact that Whit was late suggests that the letter was written in 1615.

Monday. They would not miss any school since the master was also on holiday:

The holydayes is a playnge tyme with their master he goeth to his ffrindes and yf they come not to me they shalbe invited to other places wich I would prevent

School was followed by university. Thomas, the eldest son, was admitted a fellow-commoner to Queens' College, Cambridge, on 4 May, 1619, and a year later he entered Lincoln's Inn.²⁶ John matriculated a pensioner at the same college at about the same time.²⁷ William matriculated a fellow-commoner at Queens' at Easter, 1620; he proceeded B.A. in 1624 and M.A. at St. John's in 1627. In 1625 he became a fellow of St. John's and he was eventually appointed archdeacon of Bangor.²⁸ They may have all gone to Queens' because William Roberts, the future bishop of Bangor and a native of Dyffryn Clwyd was a fellow there and he was their tutor.²⁹ Some accounts relating to the brothers' time at Cambridge have survived and they shed an interesting light on the cost of higher education in the seventeenth century. On 27 April, 1619, Sir Roger handed £60 to his servant Thomas Roberts on his departure for Cambridge with Thomas and John;³⁰ of this money £10 was to cover travelling expenses and £50 was to be paid to William Roberts. At this time a college tutor was paid directly by the parents of his pupils and the presence of a fellow from the area who might be known, or even related, to various local families might often be the reason for the choice of a particular college.³¹ Thomas was given 44s. in gold and John 22s.; from then on various sums were sent, sometimes by a servant or a kinsman and sometimes by the carrier, for both sons and tutor. Sir Roger's total recorded expenditure between 1619 and 1621 amounted to £198. 16s. and he went on sending money to William,

26. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, I, iii, p. 221.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. For William Roberts see Bywgraffiadur, pp. 828-9. If the suggested identification of Holmes the tutor (n. 10 above) is correct, the fact that he was a fellow of the college may have influenced Sir Roger's choice although Queens' had Welsh connections at this time.

30. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 75a.

31. Joan Simon, Op. cit., p. 359. On 10 February, 1622, Roberts acknowledged the receipt of £44. 6s. from John Bradshaw for William Mostyn's expenses at Cambridge (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 74a).

even after he had obtained his fellowship.³² Thomas's move to Lincoln's Inn meant yet more expense; on 19 April, 1620, another servant, John Bradshaw, set out for London with him and was entrusted with £54, while Thomas was given £5 in gold 'to keep his purse'.³³ The following June Bradshaw took another £50 for the heir's expenses at the inn.

For many sons of the gentry their stay at the university and at the Inns of Court was followed by a foreign tour but Sir Roger's sons do not appear to have travelled abroad.³⁴ Sir John Wynn's heir, the younger Sir John, did so and he died at Lucca in 1614; young Thomas, however, seems to have returned to Mostyn and his father certainly held strong views about his being away from the estate. Apart from this, the education of Sir Roger's sons followed what had by now become the general pattern of school or tutor, university, and Inns of Court; William was the only one to complete a university course but he was obviously intended for the church and the livings which he held, namely Christleton, which was in his father's gift, and Whitford, his home parish, show that he received more than financial support. The archdeaconry of Bangor was an additional piece of preferment; it had been held earlier in the century by his great-uncle Richard Gwyn, the brother of Sir John. The St. John's fellowship may have owed something to the influence of John Williams, whose college it was; in a letter written on 27 March, probably in 1625, John Mostyn told his uncle Owen Wynn that he had been at Cambridge to speak to the Master of St. John's about his brother William's fellowship.³⁵

The use the Mostyns made of their education may to some extent have been reflected in the library which they collected. The Mostyn library was later to be

32. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6478; between June, 1624, and November, 1627, William was sent a total of £85. 6s. by various hands.

33. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 73b.

34. Foreign travel is discussed by Joan Simon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 346-8, and by L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*, pp. 313-7. Sir Roger expressed his disapproval of young Sir John's travels in a letter to his father-in-law printed in full in Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 126-7. The letter was then at Mostyn.

35. *C.W.P.* 1001; John was in William's service and the Master of St. John's at that time was Owen Gwyn, the cousin of Sir John Wynn.

one of the best-known in Wales, if not in Britain; part of it, sold in 1919 at Sotheby's, fetched a total of over £40,000 and the remainder, sold at Christie's in October, 1974, brought in over £200,000.³⁶ Of the books sold in 1974, 437, including 28 incunabula, were published before 1642.³⁷ Unfortunately there is nothing to indicate how many of these were in the library before that date, especially since it was Sir Thomas Mostyn, the second baronet, who died in 1692, who seems to have accumulated the greater part of the library; his grandson Sir Thomas, the fourth baronet, was also a keen collector.³⁸ But the first Sir Thomas Mostyn seems to have been the founder of the library and it is possible that he acquired those manuscripts which had come on the market after the dispersal of monastic libraries at the dissolution;³⁹ the magnificent collection of over 400 sixteenth and seventeenth-century English plays, entirely unknown to scholars until they came on the market in 1907 and 1919, must also have been in the library by 1650.⁴⁰ The Mostyn and Gloddaith libraries were most famous for their manuscripts, especially those of Welsh poetry.⁴¹ Some came from Corsygedol and Nannau in the eighteenth century but most of the Welsh material was probably collected by the second baronet. Other manuscripts of interest included that of the first and second books of Froissart, said to have been presented to the first Sir Thomas by Burghley and now in the Huntingdon Library. Giraldus Cambrensis's *Itinerary and Description of Wales*, bearing the autographs of Dafydd Nanmor, William Salesbury, Sir John Price and Burghley, which was presented by bishop

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36. *The Times*, 21-2 March, 1919; the bulk of the manuscripts, sold at Sotheby's in 1920, fetched £17,965 (*ibid.*, 14 July, 1920). The 1974 total was reported on the B.B.C. television programme 'Wales Today' on 24 October, 1974.
37. Christie's, *Catalogue of the Mostyn Hall Library* (3 vols., 1974).
38. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 5-6; Mostyn & Glenn, p. 158. There are numerous references to the purchase of books in the letters of the second baronet (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 9066-72). I am grateful to Miss Susan Cullum for this information.
39. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 112; Christie's, *Catalogue*, I, p. 5.
40. Christie's, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 5-6; *The Times*, 31 January, 21-2 March, 1919.
41. The Welsh manuscripts were catalogued by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, I, i (Mostyn) (1898); the manuscripts were all listed in the appendix to *H.M.C. Reports*, IV (1874), pp. 347-63. The Welsh material was purchased by Cecil A. Wright and presented to the National Library of Wales in 1918; a few are among the Mostyn papers in the Library of the University College of North Wales. (W. Ll. Davies, *The National Library of Wales: a survey of its history, its contents and its activities* (1937), p. 85).

Richard Davies to the last-named and lent to David Powel for the first printed edition in 1585, now in the National Library of Wales, and the chronicle of St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, sold in 1974.⁴²

The lack of correspondence or of domestic account books before 1660 means that there is very little information available about the Mostyns' cultural interests during the period dealt with in this study;⁴³ although, for example, there was a considerable library by 1642, the provenance or, indeed, the precise nature of its contents cannot be traced. Their patronage of the bards was, of course, another matter and this is dealt with in the next chapter. But the course through which they, like so many of their fellows had passed meant that they had acquired some acquaintance with the classical languages and the law, along with a degree of sophistication and polish. In them two cultures met and in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries co-existed.

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42. For the Froissart manuscript see Mostyn & Glenn, p. 101; the Giraldus one is N.L.W. 3024. For the Chester chronicle see Christie's, Catalogue, III, lot 1487; it was published by the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society in 1887 as Annales Cestrienses and edited by R. C. Christie.
43. The cultural interests and activities of a contemporary family are discussed by J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Diddordebau diwylliannol Wyniaid Gwedir' in Llên Cymru, XI, 1-2 (1970), pp. 95-124.

(b). Marriage

Marriage, according to the Prayer Book, is 'an honourable estate, instituted by God in the time of man's innocency'; for the upper classes it was also a major step involving deep thought, careful selection, long negotiations, and complicated questions of land and money.⁴⁴ The Mostyns owed more to marriage than did many families, since it was a series of advantageous matches in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which had brought the Five Courts together and which had given them that abiding strength which made the obvious and open ambition of so many of their contemporaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries unnecessary. In every generation they took great care over the choice of brides for their heirs and the results were frequently as much dynastic alliances as marriages. The Five Courts were finally united in the person of Richard ap Hywel; there were no further marriages to heiresses until the latter part of the seventeenth century when Sir Thomas Mostyn, the second baronet, married Bridget Savage and thereby acquired an extensive estate in Cheshire but the intervening matches, both of sons and daughters, were all important ones which left the family with an even more extensive network of connections than it had had before 1500.⁴⁵

In 1517 Thomas, the eldest son of Richard ap Hywel, was married to Jane, the daughter of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn, chamberlain of North Wales. The pre-nuptial settlement was dated 6 May, 1517, and under its terms the marriage was to take place by 15 August.⁴⁶ Richard was to settle lands of the annual value of 20 marks on the young couple and if Thomas died before consummating the marriage another son would marry Jane; if she died Sir William would supply another daughter to marry Thomas or whatever son might be heir by then. Richard undertook to entail his lands in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Flintshire, and Chirkland and Sir William undertook to pay a dowry or portion of £100, 40 marks at the time of the marriage

44. Attitudes to marriage among the gentry are touched on by G. Dyfnallt Owen, Op. cit., pp. 14-5; see also L. Stone, Op. cit., Chapter XII (pp. 269-302 in abridged edition) and Enid Roberts, 'Priodasau Catrin o Ferain' in Trans. Denbs. Hist. Soc., XX (1971), pp. 45-6.

45. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 155-6.

46. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 91.

and annual instalments of 20 marks thereafter. Personalities played no part in this transaction; it is highly doubtful whether there was any question of Thomas and Jane Griffith having fallen in love. The heir of Mostyn, whoever he might be, was to marry a daughter of the great house of Penrhyn. This was a marriage treaty between two great families, one from north-east Wales and one from Gwynedd, and it showed the position which the house of Mostyn had now attained; whereas the heirs had previously married for land they now married for status and the agreement certainly indicated that Jane's dowry came in cash. The Welsh gentry had always taken marriage extremely seriously; a good alliance like this one could be profitable in territorial and financial terms as well as in terms of status and some might cover more than one generation. Furthermore, both sides were brought into contact with a number of other families; Thomas's mother was a Salusbury, while Jane's was the daughter of Sir Thomas Stradling of St. Donats in Glamorgan and this meant links with many of the leading families in that county. Sir William also had close links with Sir Rhys ap Thomas who was, without a doubt, the most powerful and influential man in South Wales.⁴⁷ Two families which had arrived now saw fit to ally themselves; marriages such as this were not made in Heaven and no question of romance entered into it. At this level of society marriage was far too important a matter to be left to the whim of young people.

Richard ap Hywel's other children all married locally: Elen married George Ravenscroft of Bretton, Janet or Sioned married Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan, the bard and uncle of the future bishop Richard Davies, another Janet married Hugh Pennant of Bychtyn, Margaret married Hywel ap Ieuan of Northop, and Dows or Dulcie married Thomas Gruffydd Fychan of Pantyllongdy.⁴⁸ Piers, Richard's younger surviving son and ancestor of the Mostyns of Talacre, married Elen, the sister of Thomas Gruffydd Fychan, which suggests a double alliance.⁴⁹ Not long after Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel, or Thomas Mostyn as he gradually came to call

47. Bywgraffiadur, II, p. 95.

48. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 79.

49. Ibid., p. 193.

himself, inherited the estate in 1540 he set about arranging a match for his eldest son William who was by now 19 years old; Thomas had been 27 at the time of his own marriage.⁵⁰ In 1541 William married Margaret, the daughter of Robert ap Hywel, an Oswestry draper who was a descendant of Ieuan Fychan of Moeliwrch in Cynllaith.⁵¹ The marriage settlement was dated 10 April;⁵² Thomas undertook to settle Plas Uchaf in Mostyn, lands in Whitford Garn, and all his lands in Trefednywain, Cilcain, Bagillt, Tre'r Abad, and Nannerch on Margaret for her jointure and he also covenanted to convey Trecastell, Tregwehelyth, and Nantbychan and all his lands in Rhiwledin to the use of William and his heirs male and to create a new entail on the estate.⁵³ Margaret brought with her a portion of £200. This marriage shows how the Mostyns were prepared to find wives for their sons among the merchant families of the border towns as well as among the landed gentry, although the latter was the class from which the family of William's first wife came and to which it soon returned. William's second wife and his eldest son's bride came from Cheshire and were connected with Chester merchants. Since there was little investment in land during most of the sixteenth century, the portions these wives brought with them may have helped to build up the substantial reserves of ready cash which the Mostyns certainly had.

Thomas Mostyn's second son Richard married Jane, daughter of Thomas Salusbury of Leadbrook and widow of John Davies of Gwysaney;⁵⁴ the other sons all had to make their own way in the world.⁵⁵ Five daughters were married;⁵⁶ Katherine married William Glynne of Glynllifon and Grace had three husbands, William Glynne

50. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 185.

51. For Margaret's descent see Powys Fadog, III, p. 405; the family subsequently became that of Powell of Whittington Park.

52. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 4175; for a Pembrokeshire example of this type of settlement see H. A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540-1640, p. 50.

53. Margaret's jointure lands were settled on 12 April, 1541 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3245-6); the new entail was made on 18 April (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3271).

54. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 198; according to Bywgraffiadur, p. 151, Richard was Jane's first husband; this is, however, unlikely since Richard Mostyn was still alive in 1584 (E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire squires, 1558-1625', p. 197).

55. The other sons are discussed in Chapter IV of this study.

56. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 93, lists the marriages.

of Lleuar in Clynnog Fawr, a member of a younger branch of the Glynllifon family, Robert Massey, and Maredudd Lloyd ap John Owen. Dorothy was the wife of John Griffith of Cefnamwlch in Llŷn, while Elizabeth married first John Wynn ap Dafydd Lloyd of Bodanwydog in Ial and secondly Sir Evan Lloyd of Bodidris. Margaret married Maurice Kyffin of Maenan. Thomas took some care to provide for his daughters; in February, 1541, William covenanted to make provision for his unmarried sisters should the need arise and in his will Thomas left a quarter of his personal estate as a portion for Margaret who had not yet married.⁵⁷ William's first wife was dead by 1556 when he married again; this time his bride was Margaret, daughter of Sir William Brereton, the former chief justice of Ireland, and widow of William Goodman who was mayor of Chester in 1550.⁵⁸ Under the same arrangement William's heir Thomas, who, at that time could not have been more than 14, would marry Margaret's daughter Ursula Goodman. The settlement was made on 4 October, 1556;⁵⁹ under it Margaret was to have lands of the annual value of £36 as her jointure and after her death half of them were to go to Ursula. Lands worth £20 were also to be conveyed to the elder Thomas for his lifetime, after which they, too, would pass to Ursula;⁶⁰ her portion was 400 marks and lands worth £10. William Mostyn had two daughters, Katherine, who married William Dymock of Penley in Maelor Saesneg and after his death R. Leighton, and Grace, who married Robert Griffith of Porthamel in Anglesey in 1591.⁶¹

Like his father, Thomas Mostyn married twice. According to William Cynwal Ursula died in 1578, two years after her husband had inherited the estate;⁶² she

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57. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 92, 96; he also left £20 for a portion for his illegitimate daughter Katherine.
58. Ormerod, Hist. Cheshire, III, p. 89.
59. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 93. If Thomas died before the consummation of the marriage Ursula would marry his younger brother John.
60. This was done on 12 November, 1556 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 93A); the lands consisted of Tregarnedd and various properties in Flintshire. Ursula's jointure was finally settled on 26 June, 1563 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3133), which suggests that this was when the marriage was solemnised; the lands specified here included Plas Uchaf.
61. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 95; this gives Katherine's husband as Edward Dymock but in P.R.O. C8/61/19 he is called William. Grace's marriage settlement is U.C.N.W. Plas Newydd V, 1427, and her father left her 300 marks for her portion (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3724).
62. N.L.W. Mostyn 111, f. 257a.

had borne him five children, three sons and two daughters. He remarried in 1582 and, like his father's second marriage, this was a double transaction. Under the terms of the settlement made on 6 February, 1582, Thomas was to marry his first cousin once removed, Katherine, the daughter of Piers Mostyn of Talacre and widow of Sir Rhys Griffith of Penrhyn, while his daughter Margaret would marry Sir Rhys's son and heir Piers who may have been Thomas's ward.⁶³ Piers was fourteen at the time of the agreement. The marriages not only linked Mostyn and Penrhyn once again but also Mostyn and Talacre; all the parties were related before any marriage had taken place. The settlement provided that the Gloddaith estate should be settled on Katherine along with the tithes; the Penrhyn jointure lands were to be conveyed to Piers when he came of age. Margaret was to receive a portion of £400. Piers and Margaret had seven daughters; in 1616, after Piers's extravagances had finally landed him in the Fleet, his father-in-law brought a Chancery suit against him over the payment of their portions, since most of his lands had either been sold or were under mortgage, and he was ordered to pay them.⁶⁴

There was a similar double marriage in the next generation; Sir Thomas Mostyn's younger son Thomas married, as his second wife, Gwen, the daughter of John ap Rhys of Llwyn-ynn and widow of Richard Parry, bishop of St. Asaph, while his heir William married her daughter Anne.⁶⁵ This practice was not uncommon. Second marriages were frequent, the more so since so many wives died prematurely;⁶⁶ many of these marriages were with widows who would be of suitable age and experience and if a prosperous widow had a daughter who had the necessary qualifications to marry the heir or, indeed, a son who might do for one of the

63. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 102.

64. U.C.N.W. Penrhyn 134.

65. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 195; Thomas's daughter Mary also married Dr. Parry's son and heir Richard as part of the same arrangement (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3610). In a letter to Owen Wynn on 21 August, 1624, Sir Roger suggested that these marriages were planned by Owen's opponents to prevent him marrying Parry's daughter (N.L.W. 9060/1279).

66. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, p. 270. Among the aristocracy over a third of all first marriages between 1558 and 1641 lasted less than 15 years and this was probably also true of the gentry.

daughters, an arrangement of this kind would be an eminently sensible one.⁶⁷ It helped to solve any mother-in-law problems and provided a widowed mother with protection in a man's world and a widowed father with a companion, a bedfellow, and a domestic manager.

Sir Thomas Mostyn's heir Roger married Mary, the daughter of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir. This again was an important alliance of two of the leading North Wales families and the future Sir Roger always had close and friendly relations with his father-in-law. Unfortunately the marriage settlement has not survived; this is all the more inconvenient because this marriage was undoubtedly one of the most interesting contracted by the Mostyns. Sir Thomas's relations with both his son and Sir John Wynn were particularly bad, indeed, in the case of Roger, spectacularly so, since father and son were not even reconciled when he was on his deathbed.⁶⁸ There is no proof that this estrangement had anything to do with Roger's marriage but it is possible that he chose his own wife and that his choice was contrary to his father's wishes.⁶⁹ It may be that the quarrels with John Wynn and between father and son preceded the marriage, which could then have been a deliberate gesture of defiance by Roger; the latter had some connection with the Gwydir family as early as 1593 when he was one of the trustees to whom Sir John's uncle, Robert Wynn of Conway, conveyed his lands in Caernarvonshire.⁷⁰ According to him this was because he was related to Robert Wynn's wife and this may have been how he first came into contact with the Wynns.

There are some bonds connected with the marriage settlement among the Mostyn papers; on 8 May, 1600, Roger and Piers Pennant bound themselves in £1,000 to Sir Thomas that Roger would save him harmless over breaches of a bond dated 30 July, 1596, whereby Sir Thomas and his two sons were bound in £3,000 to John Wynn of

67. Second marriages are discussed by L. Stone, *Op. cit.*, pp. 283-5.

68. This is discussed in Chapter V above.

69. This suggestion is made by Mostyn & Glenn, p. 103; see also the suggestion, in note 112 to Chapter X of this study that the Mostyn-Gwydir quarrel may have been connected with Wynn's signature of the 1594 petition for the holding of an eisteddfod.

70. P.R.O. Reg. 2/399/84; C3/366/26; these cases are discussed in Chapter VIII.

Gwydir to perform covenants contained in indentures of the same date.⁷¹ These indentures were presumably the missing settlement. On the same day Roger bound himself in £3,000 to indemnify his brother and in a further bond he bound himself in £1,000 to Thomas to indemnify him over a bond in £1,000 for the payment of an annual sum of 200 marks after his death, should he predecease his father, to John Wynn towards Mary's maintenance.⁷² In other words, the arrangements made under the settlement were now being dismantled, which suggests either that Roger had broken with his father and brother or that he was now in a position to provide for his wife himself. The only other reference to the marriage is a letter written by Roger to John Wynn on 25 April, 1596, relating to a forthcoming meeting at Ruthin to discuss the match.⁷³ The marriage was solemnised at Gwydir on 2 August, 1596, and was a major event, attended and celebrated by ten poets.

Roger's younger brother Thomas married Anne, the daughter of William Hughes, bishop of St. Asaph, in 1597, while his other sister Katherine married Thomas, the son of John Hanmer of Hanmer, the one Flintshire family that was wealthier than the Mostyns. Like the Penrhyn marriage, this was an important dynastic alliance which linked the two chief families in the county and Sir Thomas Hanmer was undoubtedly a more satisfactory son-in-law than the unfortunate Piers Griffith. The marriage settlement was dated 11 January, 1589, and it stipulated that the marriage should take place before 2 February following.⁷⁴ Katherine received a portion of £800.

But it is in the next generation that the material relating to the marriage of the heir becomes rich and in the Gwydir correspondence it is possible to follow

71. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 115.

72. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 116, 118. On the same day Roger bound himself in £1,000 that on his father's death his step-mother would have Gloddaith for life (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 114).

73. N.L.W. 465/381.

74. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 104; the Bettisfield (Hanmer) papers, however, include what is described as a pre-nuptial settlement dated 31 August, 1597 (N.L.W. Bettisfield 590). The marriage had definitely taken place by 1592 when Katherine was described as Katherine Hanmer in her grandmother's will (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 107). It seems to have been some time before the jointure was settled; in January, 1612, Sir Thomas Hanmer bound himself in 2,000 marks to Sir Roger to convey certain lands to her use as her jointure (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 124). She was his second wife.

Sir Roger in his quest for a suitable wife for his eldest son Thomas, to study the mechanics of an arranged marriage, and to learn the views of Sir John Wynn on the subject. In 1604 Roger was helping his father-in-law in his search for an appropriate match for his eldest son John; in a letter written from London on 5 July he informed him that the proposed match with the daughter of the Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Fleming, described elsewhere as 'a good, comely and tall gentlewoman' was not likely to take effect on account of his unreasonable demands.⁷⁵ The following day William Lloyd recommended the same girl and also suggested the daughters of Sir Richard Bulkeley and Sir Thomas Myddelton, adding that the best match was where there was the best portion.⁷⁶ More light is shed on contemporary wife-hunting in another letter from Roger dated 29 August, 1604;⁷⁷ he had been conferring with his cousin Peter Mutton who appears to have been contemplating marriage. Mutton had visited the family concerned and had been welcomed by the girl's father and brother but not by her mother; he had asked to see her at supper time but had been told that she was in the kitchen turning the braich while in the morning it turned out that she was a very late riser.⁷⁸ A wife was eventually found for young John Wynn; in 1606 he married Margaret Cave, daughter of Sir Thomas Cave and niece of Sir Oliver St. John, Master of the Ordnance for Ireland. By her he had a daughter Eleanor who died while still a child; Sir Roger and Lady Mostyn looked after her after her father's death and in July, 1615, her mother sent to Lady Mostyn for her.⁷⁹ She was still alive the following year, although described by her grandfather as 'weak and sickly', but died before it ended.⁸⁰ There seems to have been some dispute over her custody after her father died; in a letter probably written in February, 1615, Sir Roger suggested that she should go to school with the boys (presumably her younger uncles and cousins) at Plas Uchaf and that her whereabouts should be concealed since there would certainly be litigation over

75. C.W.P. 288, 290; see also 284-5.

76. C.W.P. 290.

77. N.L.W. 9052/300.

78. The word braich here possibly means spit although no such meaning is given in Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru.

79. C.W.P. 700.

80. C.W.P. 764, 778.

her.⁸¹

By 1614 Sir Roger had begun to think about arranging a suitable marriage for his eldest son and was looking around for possible brides. On 23 January, 1614, his cousin Thomas Powell of Horsley wrote to him from Gresford about the possibility of matching young Thomas with one of the daughters of Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton in Lancashire.⁸² Powell had met Sir Richard in Liverpool and had handed him a letter from Sir John Wynn, who apparently knew him, about a possible match. There were various expressions of goodwill along with talk of settlements, dowries and other related matters. Sir Richard was willing to put down as much as he had for the other daughters but this would take time since he had not yet paid all the portions of two daughters who had married recently

Whereupon I replied that you matched not your sonne for need of money but out of a ioynt care in his graundfather Sir John Wynn & yourself to have him securely abroad where hee might gayne education fittinge his birth and for the avoydinge of many other dangerous casualties, reportinge unto him att large the reasons and the estate of the lyveinge with the value and the Cole myne besides and your owne particuler purchases

Sir Richard then extended an invitation to Sir Roger to visit him at Sefton and inspect the girl and Powell pointed out that old Sir Thomas raised no objections to the match.

Att length before wee parted I gave him a tast of the unkindnes between your ffather and you, and the reasons thereof; but that you had his goodwill to choose for yourself in this kinde

The husband of one daughter had had £1,800 and some land.

Sir Roger discussed the proposed match in a letter to his father-in-law on 16 February, 1614.⁸³ He gave him the details; there were two unmarried daughters, one aged twelve and the other ten. The elder was the better looking but negotiations for her hand were in progress with a Lancashire gentleman. A friend had told him

The younger hath a litell halt wich cannot be well deserned at the first, yett being narrowly looked unto is quickly perceaved ... I am advised to take no notice of this halt till the gent. I send thither perceave yt himself

81. C.W.P. 1455.

82. N.L.W. 466/638.

83. N.L.W. 466/642.

He planned to ask Thomas Powell to go to Sefton on his behalf; Powell did not know about the limp. He intended to try for the elder daughter, age being the excuse. Powell was already acting as go-between, as the previous letter shows, and had seen Sir Richard in Liverpool; Sir Roger had obviously forwarded his letter to Sir John. He was determined to have the elder

for yf the younger halt and Sir Richard will not be persuaded to part with the elder I will not deale with him at any hand. She shalbe perfect to seeminge with whosoever I deale in this kynd for no money shall make me hazard his fortune

Six days later he wrote again on the same subject, referring again to the younger daughter's disability:⁸⁴

Thother of X who hath a privy halt which I beleeve thinketh to be good ynough for Wales ... Yf he resteth one the youngest suerly I thinke yt best in good fashion to breake of, for althoughe she may in her youth beare yt in good fashion, yett a bearinge of children and as she groweth in adge it will seem greater every daie then other, and I am somewhatt of the humor of my auncester that married with Harry goch Salusbury, that I am loth to keep one to tell every man how she comith to that halt⁸⁵

The other suitor had £2,000 a year and was not a gentleman by birth but 'of the first head'; he therefore wanted to make his way into the ranks of the Lancashire gentry by marriage and Sir Roger felt that the younger daughter would suit his purpose just as well, which remark is an interesting comment on contemporary social attitudes. Indeed, the Gwydir letters contain a great deal of evidence about attitudes to marriage; every father was anxious to arrange as advantageous a match as possible for his heir and the Calendar shows Sir John about the same business. Of course, Thomas was too young for his views to be taken into account; this was planning for the future. Sir John's son Sir Owen Wynn put the contemporary view succinctly in 1653 when he said that his son was a free man, to be disposed of as God and his parents thought fittest for him.⁸⁶

84. N.L.W. 466/578. This letter was dated by the editor of the Calendar between 1606 and 1611 but it obviously relates to these negotiations.

85. This obviously relates to some family tradition about Margaret ferch Gruffydd ap Rhys of Gloddaith.

86. C.W.P. 2011.

Nothing came of the Molyneux negotiations and the search continued. Sir Roger and Sir John discussed various possibilities from time to time; in March, 1615, the latter expressed the hope that their sons might marry well since it was easier to find good women in Wales where they were simple and knew no vice than in England where a great deal of virtue was taught but where they inclined more to vice because of the freedom which English fashions allowed to women.⁸⁷ The following February Sir Roger remarked that he was thinking of marrying Thomas off but that he could not offer much in his father's lifetime.⁸⁸ The quest was still under way in November, 1621, when Owen Wynn told his father that he had heard that old Lady Bulkeley would match her grandchild either with Sir Roger Mostyn or with Sir John's other son-in-law Sir John Bodvel;⁸⁹ thus Baron Hill would be drawn into the network.⁹⁰ In June, 1622, Owen Wynn informed his father that the match between Thomas Mostyn and John Panton's daughter would go forward, as Peter Mutton had expected;⁹¹ in fact it did not and three months later William Wynn reported to Sir John that Thomas was to marry Elin Williams, the sister of the Lord Keeper and widow of Ellis Griffith of Pengwern.⁹² Sir Roger did not approve of the idea because of the disparity in age and Williams was ready to bestow her on Owen Wynn, although he had promised to consider Sir Peter Mutton's application first; it was Mutton who married her. It must be remembered that Thomas Mostyn was one of the most eligible bachelors in North Wales at this time. An undated letter from Sir Roger to Sir John refers to another bid; Sir Thomas Myddelton had said that he would sooner match with him than with any in Wales but thought his price too high, although he would not bestow his daughter until he had had a final answer.⁹³

87. N.L.W. 9054/686; this letter discusses a proposed match.

88. N.L.W. 9055/746.

89. C.W.P. 988.

90. It was; Sir Roger's daughter Katherine married Richard Bulkeley of Baron Hill.

91. C.W.P. 1024.

92. C.W.P. 1035.

93. N.L.W. 9061/1464.

A wife was finally found in 1623 when Thomas married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Whitelock, the Chief Justice of Chester. On 17 January, 1620, Sir Roger had set out his terms in a lengthy letter to Sir James;⁹⁴ this shows how protracted marriage negotiations could be. He began with a reference to the Penrhyn dispute; Mr. Justice Jeffreys had told him that Sir James had refused to support his brother Thomas's action against their stepmother unless the two brothers were reconciled. This in itself made him favour the match which was also supported by his brother-in-law Sir Richard Wynn and his uncle Ellis Wynn. He was ready to agree to any reasonable conditions and was prepared to meet Sir James to discuss the matter further. On the back of the draft letter he made a note of his terms; the first was a portion of £3,000 which he said he had refused from others. The settlement would include the manor of Mostyn and the Gogarth lease; he would also settle all his ancient or inherited lands on the heirs male begotten on Elizabeth with remainder to Thomas's heirs male, in default of which he would have them entailed on his next sons by name and their heirs male with remainder to himself and his heirs. He wished to retain the disposition of the lands he himself had bought since they were intended for his other sons. He would wish to have the right to make leases and grant annuities not exceeding £50 each to his younger sons; he would also want to be able to charge his land with portions for his daughters and an annual sum of £40 to dispose of at his pleasure if it did not come from the demesnes. The Caernarvonshire lands were earmarked for his wife's jointure and if he married again they would form the jointure of his second wife. Elizabeth's jointure would depend on the size of the portion and would be duly assigned; if he got £3,000 it would be £300 a year. He would wish to have £50 of it abated during the lifetime of his step-mother and he wanted the freedom 'to exchange any quillet or parcel of land for the betteringe and the more commodious to my house by assente of friendes, etc.' Finally, he wanted the right to grant annuities, not exceeding 20 marks each, to any children he might have by a second

94. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 7294; this letter is reproduced in Appendix E (9).

marriage and provision to charge the land with portions for his son's daughters should Thomas die without male heirs.

Marriage portions increased steadily during the period under review. In 1517 Jane Griffith brought her husband £100 and William Mostyn's first wife brought him £200 in 1541, while Ursula Goodman's portion was 400 marks and lands of the annual value of £10.⁹⁵ The first Thomas Mostyn left a quarter of his personal estate to his daughter Margaret for her portion while William bequeathed 300 marks to his daughter Grace;⁹⁶ of Sir Thomas's daughters Margaret had £400 and Katherine £800.⁹⁷ Sir Roger had asked for £3,000; his letter shows the tortuous negotiations that had to be pursued for a marriage of this kind, the ultimate outcome of which would be enshrined in the settlement which in this case was a post-nuptial one dated 31 August, 1623.⁹⁸ The portion was fixed at £2,500, which meant that Sir Roger had not done too badly. He would retain the manor of Mostyn, the lands and the coal mines during his lifetime and they would then pass to Thomas and Elizabeth and their heirs. If he died leaving any unmarried daughters he could leave them each £300 a year out of the issues of the Flintshire estate until they married and lay down their portions. Arrangements were also made in case Thomas and Elizabeth should only have daughters; the trustees under the settlement included Sir John Wynn. Sir James Whitelock, Sir Roger and Thomas had written to him on 4 May seeking his consent as a trustee to Sir Roger's revocation of uses limited on his own marriage in order to expedite the wedding;⁹⁹ he obviously made no objections and on 17 May he wrote to Sir James expressing his pleasure at the match and inviting him to stay at Gwydir on his way to Gloddaith.¹⁰⁰ The following day Whitelock declared himself

95. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 91, 4175, 93.

96. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 96; Clwyd R.O., Mostyn of Mostyn, D/M/3724.

97. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 102, 104; the rise in portions over the period is discussed by L. Stone, *Op. cit.*, pp. 290-1.

98. Clwyd R.O., D/M/3608; the marriage was the previous May (Y Cwta Cyfarwydd, p. 93).

99. C.W.P. 1095; the entail on Sir Roger's marriage was barred by a fine levied in 1623 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 3286).

100. C.W.P. 1103.

satisfied at the marriage in a letter to Sir John, adding that his daughter was worthy of the portion he had bestowed on her and praising her dutifulness.¹⁰¹

None of Sir Roger's other sons made startling matrimonial coups. John, the second, is generally regarded as having lived and died a bachelor, as did Richard.¹⁰² Robert married the daughter of Henry Conway of Nant, probably his father's ward, and Roger married Elizabeth Pugh, the heiress of Dolycorsllwyn in Montgomeryshire.¹⁰³ William was twice married, his first wife being Elizabeth Aldersey of Chester and his second Ann Lewis of Chwaen Wen in Anglesey, while of the daughters Sidney married Richard Grosvenor and Katherine married Richard Bulkeley who was to command the royal forces in Anglesey and who was eventually killed by Richard Cheadle in that famous encounter on the Lavan Sands;¹⁰⁴ she died about 1644. In the next generation the net was cast more widely; Sir Thomas's son Sir Roger, the first baronet, married three times, his first wife being Prudence, the daughter of Sir Martin Lumley of Great Bardfield in Essex, his second Mary, the eldest daughter of Lord Bulkeley, and his third Lumley, the daughter of George Coetmor of Coetmor in Caernarvonshire.¹⁰⁵ But during the period examined in this study the Mostyns found their wives in North Wales and the border counties. Earlier chapters have shown how their medieval forebears had built up the estate by a series of marriages with heiresses; this was followed by carefully negotiated matches with other leading families in North Wales and it was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that marriages to English wives became the custom and the family's Welshness was slowly but surely diluted.

101. C.W.P. 1104.

102. John Mostyn is generally regarded as having never married; however, in a letter to his grand-nephew Thomas Mostyn of Gloddaith written in 1675 he conveyed his wife's good wishes to him (U.C.N.W. (Hangor) Mostyn 9066/34).

103. Sir Roger made composition in the Court of Wards for the Conway wardship in 1627 (C.W.P. 1391). Roger was still under age at the time of his father's death (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3737).

104. E. Gwynne Jones, ed., 'History of the Bulkeley family (N.L.W. MS.9080E)' in Trans. A.A.S., 1948, pp. 75-6.

105. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 130.

CHAPTER TEN

THE MOSTYNS AS PATRONS

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The Mostyns must rank among the most important patrons of the bardic order; they were also among the last of the major families to patronise the poets and take an interest in the traditional culture. For these reasons alone an examination of their role as patrons would be important and interesting but in their case there is a further factor which makes them of even greater significance, namely their connection with the two Caerwys eisteddfodau. A great deal of work on the poetry of the sixteenth century and earlier has appeared or is in progress but the scholars engaged in it approach the subject from a literary standpoint; recent articles deal in particular with literary and social influences and the contemporary background of ideas.¹ The question of patronage comes into these studies of course but they do not answer the questions which many historians will want to ask, nor do they make any claim to do so; indeed, there is no historical study of the subject. That patronage existed is well-known. We know how it developed and how strict rules came to govern the relationship of poet and patron. What we do not know is how certain families came to play a particularly important role as patrons of the poets and guardians of the Welsh poetic tradition and what the economic basis, if any, of patronage was. Why were some families more prominent than others? Was it because of descent, status, or wealth? And if it were not the result of any of these factors, to what can it be attributed? In this chapter the part played by the Mostyns as patrons will be examined and the points raised here, as far as possible, considered.²

As in most societies the patron of the poet was, above all, the king. According to the Welsh laws the poet enjoyed a high place in society; the 24 officers of the court included the bardd teulu or household poet who held his land;

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1. For a recent example see particularly D. J. Bowen, 'Agweddau ar ganu'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg' in Trans. Cymm., 1969, pp. 284-335.
 2. The position of the Mostyns as patrons has recently been examined by R. Alun Charles 'Noddwyr y beirdd yn sir y Fflint' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1967) and 'Teulu Mostyn fel noddwyr y beirdd' in Llên Cymru, IX, i-ii (1966), pp. 74-110; in these studies Mr. Charles has concentrated on ascertaining which poets sang to which members of which branches of the Mostyns rather than on general principles.

freely and who sat next to the penteulu in the hall at the three great feasts (Christmas, Easter, and Whit);³ the pencerdd or chief poet also occupied an honoured place and seems to have had some jurisdiction over the other bards of the kingdom.⁴ The close link between poets and rulers survived and the tradition reached its peak during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵ This was one of the great periods of Welsh poetry; its practitioners composed court poetry, poetry which depended on the court of a sovereign and the values of such a court to sustain it, and their principal function was to praise the ruler, especially for his heroism and generosity, and to mourn his death. But with the fall of Gwynedd in 1282 the raison d'être of this whole tradition came to an end. The style and diction survived into the next century but the conquest brought about a drastic change in the whole pattern of patronage and this was followed by an equally drastic change in style.⁶ The place of the princes as patrons of the poets and their craft was taken by the uchelwyr, the rising gentry class whose power and influence was based on their position in their localities, on a complicated network of family relationships, and on the holding of office under the crown. This is not to say that the poets had not sung to this class in the days of the princes; they had done so, but after 1282 the uchelwyr were the only possible patrons. As the Statute of Gruffydd ap Cynan put it:⁷

ac wedi meirw y tywysogion kymmerth y gwyr boneddigion a hanoeddynt o waed y tywysogion y gwyr wrth gerdd atynt

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3. A. R. Wiliam, ed., Llyfr Iorwerth, p. 10.
 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.
 5. For a general account of the poets and poetry of this period see T. Parry, Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900 (1944), pp. 36-53, and D. M. Lloyd, 'The poets of the princes' in Wales through the Ages, I, pp. 97-104. A more detailed discussion is J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Beirdd y Tywysogion: arolwg' in Llên Cymru, XI, i-ii (1970), pp. 3-94.
 6. This point is discussed in detail by E. I. Rowlands 'Nodiadau ar y traddodiad moliant a'r cywydd' in Llên Cymru, VII, iii-iv (1963), pp. 217-243. Mr. Rowlands argues that the whole tradition of praise was saved by the fact that the simpler cywydd replaced the more formal and complex awdl.
 7. Quoted in Glyn Roberts, 'Wales and England: antipathy and sympathy, 1282-1485' in Aspects of Welsh History, p. 309; 'and after the death of the princes the men of birth who stemmed from the blood of the princes took the men of song to them'.

It has been pointed out that the renewed efflorescence of Welsh literary culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the result of 'the loyalty of the gentry class to the traditional language and culture'.⁸ The members of this class had become the leaders of Welsh society and as a result they had also become the patrons and protectors of the bardic order.⁹

The Mostyn family was the consequence of a series of marriages which brought together the medieval houses of Pengwern, Trecastell, Mostyn, Gloddaith, and Tregarnedd but hardly any poetry addressed to any of these families has survived. Trecastell and Tregarnedd can be dealt with very briefly; both families were descended from Ednyfed Fychan and formed part of the Wyrion Eden complex that played so important a part in the affairs of medieval Gwynedd. Trecastell was the seat of Ednyfed ap Tudur ap Goronwy who died in 1382; he was a member of the main Penmynydd stock and Iolo Goch, a poet who had close connections with the family, referred to Ednyfed's residence at Trecastell when he warned four of the sons of Tudur of an intended visit to Anglesey.¹⁰ Iolo also sang the elegy of Ednyfed and his brother Goronwy, who likewise died in 1382.¹¹ There is no lack of surviving poetry to the main line of the Anglesey Tudors in the fourteenth century; other poets who sang to them included Risierdyn, Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen, and Gruffydd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd, who was particularly associated with the family. Nor was this a new development; the family of the seneschals of Gwynedd had been worthy of bardic attention before the conquest.¹² The Tregarnedd line

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8. Ibid. For an example of a vigorous cultural life under the patronage of local uchelwyr in the fourteenth century see J. Beverley Smith, 'Einion Offeiriad' in B.B.C.S. XX, iv (1964), pp. 339-47; this examines the situation in southern Cardiganshire.
 9. For the bardic order and its patrons see particularly E. I. Rowlands, Op. cit., Ifor Williams, 'Dafydd ap Gwilym a'r gler' in Trans. Cymm., 1913-4, pp. 83-204; T. Gwynn Jones, 'Bardism and romance' in idem, pp. 205-310; D. J. Bowen, 'Agweddau ar ganu'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg a'r bymthegfed' in Llen Cymru, IX, i-ii (1966), pp. 46-73; D. J. Bowen, Gruffudd Hiraethog a'i Oes (1958); Gwyn Thomas, Eisteddfodau Caerwys (1968); this is only a select list of studies in this field.
 10. Iolo Goch ac Eraill, p. 17.
 11. Ibid., p. 19.
 12. Glyn Roberts, 'Teulu Penmynydd' in Aspects of Welsh History, p. 250. Elidir Sais sang the elegy of Ednyfed Fychan himself and of his sons Gruffydd was mourned by Dafydd Benfras and Goronwy by Bleddyn Fardd and Y Prydydd Bychan.

fits into the same pattern but the only poems to have survived are two awdlau to Sir Gruffydd Llwyd by Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, sung during his imprisonment about 1327; Casnodyn sang to his wife.¹³

But there is no such body of medieval poetry to the three main lines of Pengwern, Mostyn, and Gloddaith. For the first there is some from the fifteenth century, relating to Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan ap Adda. Guto'r Glyn sang one cywydd to him;¹⁴ this is a cywydd cymod, a poem intended to seek reconciliation with the patron, although no reason is given for any breach. Its existence may indicate that Ieuan was one of Guto's patrons and therefore that other poems may have disappeared. Sir Ifor Williams suggested that the poet may have come from Glyn Ceiriog which, like Pengwern, was in the lordship of Chirkland, and he certainly sang to other patrons in the area;¹⁵ these included Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan of Moeliwrch, Dafydd Kyffin of Llangedwyn, and Edward ap Dafydd of Chirk and his sons, who were fairly closely related to Ieuan, which leads one to suspect that there might have been more poetry.¹⁶ Ieuan was, of course, a Lancastrian and Guto a Yorkist, most of whose patrons seem to have shared his political views and the explanation might lie here.¹⁷ Chirkland was Mortimer territory but Ieuan had obtained the Mostyn estate through his marriage to Angharad, the daughter and heiress of Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan, and his Lancastrian sympathies could possibly have come from Flintshire, if they were not the result of his close kinship with the Tudors.

It was the marriage of Ieuan Fychan and Angharad that brought the Pengwern and Mostyn estates together. No pre-1400 poetry addressed to Mostyn has survived; this, in itself, is not unusual but what is odd is that, apart from the cywyddau

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13. Myvyrian Archaeology, pp. 275, 276; John Morris-Jones and T. H. Parry-Williams, eds., Llawysgrif Hendregadredd (1933), p. 331.
 14. Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, pp. 73-5. This poem, along with the poems mourning Ieuan's sons and his ymryson with Maredudd ap Rhys are discussed in Chapter I of this study.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. xxii.
 16. Edward ap Dafydd was, like Ieuan, a descendant of Edryfed Gam.
 17. Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, pp. xiv-xvi. Most of Guto's patrons were, in fact, in Mortimer territory (E. D. Jones, 'Wales in fifteenth-century politics' in Wales through the Ages, I, p. 188).

concerning Ieuan Fychan, there is nothing else from the fifteenth century. Moreover, the poetry to Ieuan is to Pengwern rather than to Mostyn. There was no lack of patrons in Flintshire; Guto'r Glyn sang to the Pulestons, the Hammers, and Sir Hywel ap Dai, the parson of Whitford and a distant kinsman of the Mostyns, Tudur Penllyn to Rheinallt ap Gruffydd ap Bleddyn of Broncoed, and Hywel Cilan and Tudur Aled to the same patron, to name only a few examples. The absence of poetry to the Mostyns seems particularly strange when one considers their subsequent standing as patrons; equally strange is the lack of any poetry to Richard ap Hywel. He was a distinguished man. He is said to have led his men to join Henry Tudor in 1485. He was one of the leading landowners in Flintshire. In him all the component lines of the Mostyn family met. Most important of all, he was the chief commissioner for the eisteddfod at Caerwys in 1523. And yet there is not a line of poetry to him. Gruffudd Hiraethog did ask for a gift of millstones on his wife's behalf, but that is all.¹⁸ No poet asked Richard for any gift, none praised him and none mourned his death.¹⁹

There is no fourteenth-century poetry addressed to the Gloddaith family but there is a precise date for the earliest poem. This, composed in 1448 by Robin Ddu ap Siencyn, mourns the death of seven of the children of Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith of the plague in that year.²⁰ Gruffydd died in 1480 and his elegy was sung by no less a poet than Tudur Aled;²¹ his daughter and heiress Margaret, who married Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan, was also praised by Tudur as well as by Lewys Môn and the latter composed another poem to her second husband Henry Salusbury.²² The most interesting sections of Lewys Môn's cywyddau relate to the rebuilding of Gloddaith and they may also shed some light on the economic

18. Cardiff Public Library, Cardiff MS. 84, p. 379.

19. The most important and influential family in this area at this time was probably that of Coedymynydd in Northop, the descendants of Cynwrig ap Roppert who played a prominent part in the affairs of Flintshire in the fourteenth century. There is no detailed study of this family in print but it is discussed briefly by Enid Roberts, 'Eisteddfod Caerwys, 1567' in Trans. Denbs. Hist. Soc., XVI (1967), p. 42. For pedigrees see Powys Fadog, III, pp. 100-3, and H. J. F. Vaughan, 'On the tribe of Ednowain Bendew' in Arch. Camb., 1876, pp. 197-206, and 1877, pp. 51-61.

20. R. Williams, History of Aberconway, p. 128.

21. Gwaith Tudur Aled, II, p. 340.

22. Ibid., I, p. 166; Eurus Rowlands, 'Bywyd a gwaith Lewys Môn', pp. 291 ff. These poems are discussed in Chapter III of this study.

basis of patronage; Margaret was praised as an outstanding patron and the increase in wealth which her two marriages must have brought may not have been irrelevant in this context. After all, patronage was not merely a social and cultural obligation; it was, in some ways, a form of conspicuous consumption and as values changed during the following century this element may have become more important. The generosity of Margaret as a patron makes the absence of any poetry to her son Richard ap Hywel even more surprising.

With Richard's son Thomas Mostyn, the first to adopt the surname, the situation changes completely. He was the first of the great Mostyn patrons and no ~~less~~^{fewer} than seven poets sang to him. He was praised by Gruffudd Hiraethog, Lewis Morgannwg, Simwnt Fychan, and Siôn Brwynog in awdlau and by Simwnt Fychan (twice) and Lewis ap Edward in cywyddau, asked for a gift of swans by Gruffudd Hiraethog and mourned by William Llŷn, Siôn Brwynog, Siôn Tudur, and Simwnt Fychan.²³ The last-named seems to have had a particularly close relationship with him and referred to himself as wearing his livery:²⁴

Ef a fry fwyfwy i ras,
 Ef a urddodd i farddwas;
 Lifrai a roes, ail Efracw,
 Las rodd, a wna les yrhawg,
 Llwyrdawn i ennill urddas,
 Llurig yw im rhag llwyr gas,
 Yr hon, er gwg rhai anwir,
 A bair o'i chael yn barch hir,
 Ac nid wyf ofnog na dig
 Yn cario hon, myn Curig,
 Dillin bro Edwin ydwyf,
 Dilladus-drwysiadus wyf.

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23. The poems are listed in Appendix D to this study. The elegies were not necessarily composed at the time of his death and may indeed have been composed in connection with the 1567 Caerwys eisteddfod. Neither Siôn Tudur nor Simwnt Fychan were probably in Wales in 1558 (see Enid Roberts, 'Siôn Tudur yn Llundain' in Trans. Denbs. Hist. Soc., XVIII (1969), especially pp. 58-9). Simwnt Fychan took part in the battle of St. Quentin in 1557. An elegy might be composed some considerable time after the death of the subject I am indebted to Miss Enid Roberts for these points and for her comments on this chapter.
24. N.L.W. 16, pp. 39-40; 'He rises more and more into favour, he ordained me a young bard; he, a second Efracw, gave me a livery, a blue gift which will serve me well for a long time to come, a complete gift to win dignity, it is a defence for me against all enmity, despite the frown of some false men. Its possession will bring me respect and I am not afraid nor angry to carry this, by Curig. I am the dear one of the land of Edwin; I am well-dressed and neat'.

And in a much later poem, composed on the marriage of Thomas's great-grandson at least forty years later Simwnt mentioned the livery again:²⁵

I'w dai dethol da doethum
A hen fardd i'w hynaf fûm,
Dugum air da gymeriad,
Do, do, gyda thaid ei dad,
A'i ddifai lifrai a'i wledd
A'i aml win ugain mlynedd.

These are interesting references; the first couplet of the first quotation suggests that it was Thomas Mostyn who conferred his bardic degree on Simwnt. This could be done, according to the Statute of Gruffydd ap Cynan, at a neithior reiol or 'neithior reiol y vab uchelwr', which could indicate that Simwnt obtained his degree at the wedding-feast of one of Thomas's sons.²⁷ His eldest son William was married for the first time in 1541; if Simwnt graduated at this feast he had a very long bardic career indeed, since he died in 1606. The second point of interest is the livery. The Caerwys eisteddfodau were concerned, among other things, with the licensing of professional poets. The wearing of the livery of an important man imparted a measure of protection;²⁸ a livery meant that a minstrel, a poet, or an actor would not be seized as a vagrant because there was someone who could answer for him and if that given to Simwnt did not mean that he was Thomas's household bard, he did at least enjoy his protection. Like all his colleagues Simwnt praised his patron's hospitality and generosity and his liberality to the bards earned special mention:²⁹

Dyna fyth, da enw a fedd,
Denant i feirdd dwy Wynedd;
Enwog gennym i'n cynnal
Yw ardreth hwn ar dri thâl;
Bwrw in o dâl ran dig
Bunnoedd dair gwyl arbennig

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25. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 22a; 'I came well to his choice houses and I was an old poet to his ancestor, I bore a good word and character, yes, yes, with his father's grandfather, and his faultless livery and his hospitality for twenty years'.
26. Gwyn Thomas, Eisteddfodau Caerwys, p. 72.
27. T. Gwynn Jones, in Trans. Cymm., 1913-4; p. 257. Other poets, among them Tudur Aled, also graduated at wedding-feasts (Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp.72-4).
28. D. J. Bowen, in Trans. Cymm., 1969, p. 333.
29. N.L.W. 16, p. 36: 'There is a tenant to the bards of both Gwynedds, who will always possess a good name; we have this famous tax to maintain us on three payments; it falls to us in payment without resentment, pounds at the three special feasts'.

In the other poem to Thomas already mentioned he criticised those bards who only sang for money and declared that he was not one of them, the point being that Thomas was worthy of praise and therefore of his attention; he was also particularly generous to Simwnt, who was always a welcome guest at Mostyn. Some patrons were mean and grudging in their hospitality;³⁰

Mae'n y rhain im win a rhodd,
Mwythau anfoes, maeth anfodd;

but not Thomas; the poet's praise of his generosity was more than the usual formal compliments and again a close relationship is indicated, especially when it is remembered that Simwnt sang to four successive generations of the family.

In another poem Simwnt complained of the attitude of the gentry to the poets; their eyes, he said, were on office and advancement and they no longer supported the bards who were hated by the world.³¹ Obviously some poets were already aware that the social climate was changing; Siôn Tudur was to make the same complaint a few years later but he laid the blame squarely on the decline of standards among the bards themselves rather than on the abandonment by the gentry of their duty as patrons.³² There is no doubt that many poets felt that they lived in a world which was changing for the worse; the same feeling can be seen in William Cynwal's pride in his bardic degrees in his contest with Edmwnd Prys, a product of the university and the new learning.³³ The poets were not unaffected by the Renaissance, as witness Gruffudd Hiraethog, and the humanists did try to synthesise bardic tradition and their own scholarship; nor was Wales closed to outside influences.³⁴ But the world was changing and the changes were not to everyone's taste. Values were different; the traditional concept of boneddigeiddrwydd summed up by the phrase 'Brehyr a volir o dewrder a glewder a chadernid' was being replaced by the new ideal finding its way across the border

30. N.L.W. 16, p. 40: 'There are some who give me wine, discourteous delicacies, grudging nourishment'.

31. R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru, IX, pp. 83-4.

32. T. Parry, ed., The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse (1962), p. 223.

33. This is discussed by Gwyn Thomas in Eisteddfodau Caerwys, pp. 8-14.

34. D. J. Bowen, 'Agweddau ar ganu'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg' in Trans. Cymm., 1967, passim.

and expressed by Sir Thomas Smith in the hackneyed phrase about 'port, charge, and countenance'.³⁵ And this change in attitude did find its way into contemporary poetry as the emphasis moved to the individual. Although the traditional qualities were still praised, so, too, were such things as the tenure of public office and the possession of influence in high places and although this development is not reflected in the content of the poems to Thomas Mostyn, it is shown particularly clearly in some of those to his grandson Sir Thomas.

Although Simwnt Fychan bewailed the fact that the bards were no longer so popular, the point of the poem was that this criticism did not apply to Thomas Mostyn and his wife; he was always welcome at Gloddaith:³⁶

Pa le yr af â cherdd dafawd?
 Prydydd wyf, parodaidd wawd:
 Mi af i eiliaw awen
 I baradwys wiwlwys wen;
 Duw a wnaeth, heb luddiaeth blwng,
 Deulu baradwys deilwng;
 Un nefawl sy eurfawl sôn,
 Un daearol yn dirion,
 A'r daearawl, cydfawl cant,
 Ydyw Gloddaith deg lwyddiant,
 A thir Tomas a'i blasau
 Ap Rhisiart o'r braisg ddart brau

The evidence does suggest that it was Thomas Mostyn who established the family tradition of patronage. Gruffudd Hiraethog and Simwnt Fychan seem to have been his particular poets and in addition to their more formal compositions they both ^{composed} ~~made~~ various englynion in praise of Thomas, of Gloddaith, and of the garden there.³⁷ Gruffudd listed the gifts he had received;³⁸

Rhywiog asgell het, gwregys rhiain - Mostyn
 A chan y meistr chweugain,
 A siaced o'r melfed main
 A dager o bris deugain

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35. W. Ogwen Williams, 'The social order in Tudor Wales' in Trans. Cymm., 1967, pp. 177-8.
36. R. Alun Charles, in Llên Cymru, IX, pp. 83-4; 'Where shall I take my poetic art? I am a poet with a ready song; I shall go to compose a song to a beautiful fair paradise; God created, without resentment, a worthy paradise in two places; one heavenly, praised in golden tones, one earthly one, all fair and the earthly one, praise a hundredfold, is Gloddaith, fair success, and the land of Thomas ap Richard and his seats from the bountiful brittle earth'.
37. R. Alun Charles, in Llên Cymru, IX, p. 84.
38. 'A fine feathered hat, a maiden's belt - Mostyn, and ten shillings from the master, and a jacket of fine velvet and a dagger worth forty pence'.

He also appears to have been the first poet to have used the conceit of the Five Courts.³⁹ The other poems to Thomas Mostyn follow the common pattern of praise or grief and contain little hard information.

As far as the Welsh poetic tradition is concerned, William Mostyn is best-known for the part he played in connection with the second Caerwys eisteddfod. Six poems addressed to him survive, all of them elegies; they comprise an awdl by William Cynwal and cywyddau by Lewis ap Hywel, William Llŷn, Simwnt Fychan, and Siôn Tudur, who composed two. Simwnt Fychan referred to his rebuilding of Mostyn but on the whole this poetry again follows the usual contemporary pattern.⁴⁰ William had some knowledge of the bardic craft and along with Sir Rhys Griffith of Penrhyn and Simon Thelwall he composed a series of englynion about the award at Caerwys of a degree in music to a crowder called Owain whose skill left something to be desired.⁴¹ But no poetry composed to him in his lifetime exists or, at least, has survived.

Seven poets sang to William's son Sir Thomas, the first of the family to be knighted; they were Siôn Tudur, Huw Machno, Huw Roberts, Owain Gwynedd, Rhys Cain, Siôn Mawddwy, and William Cynwal. Huw Machno's awdl is a good example of the change in attitude discussed earlier.⁴² It begins with praise of Sir Thomas's ancestry, starting with general comments and going on to discuss his father and grandfather. This is followed by brief comments on the various lines of descent with the inevitable reference to the Five Courts, symbolising the estates; then comes the traditional praise of his courage and valour in war, the dewrder of the bardic grammars, although Sir Thomas probably saw few, if any, shots fired in anger.⁴³ The next section is equally traditional, being praise of the patron's wife Katherine, daughter of Piers Mostyn of Talacre, her liberality, and her ancestry,

39. This, along with the information contained in the poetry, is discussed in Chapter IV.

40. Simwnt Fychan and Siôn Tudur composed elegies on his second wife who died in 1594.

41. For these englynion see R. Alun Charles, 'Noddwyr y beirdd yn sir y Fflint', pp. 26-8; a crowder is a player of the crwth (crythor).

42. Dan Lynn James, 'Bywyd a gwaith Huw Machno', pp. 30-2.

43. For Siôn Dafydd Rhys's comments on this see Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., p. 28.

after which the attention of the poet's audience is drawn to the generosity of the patron, particularly to the bards. The praise of these traditional attributes is followed by reference to the visit the earl of Essex paid to Mostyn in 1599:⁴⁴

Lle doe o Loegr Eirll da olygion
A llu mawr Essex, lle'i moriason',
I'ch llys, Syr Tomas, da tra troeson',
A llawen daith oll yno doethon';
Llawnwledd holl Wynedd, llawnion Fostyndai
Oll a'u digonai lle daw gweinion.
Aeth i'r llu da air ymhlith ieirll dewrion
Am Wÿro'r Gwyddyl, mor oer gwaeddion'
I'w tir, lew enwog, trwy elynion,
Ant o iawn, gweryl tan y goron
Aeth rhagor, ddoeth Iôr, a thirion fawredd
I'th enw yngwynedd fyth na 'nganon

Next there come a number of references to the various offices held by Sir Thomas, including membership of the Council in the Marches, justice of the peace, custos rotulorum, sheriff, and deputy-lieutenant:⁴⁵

Sadwalch i'r Martsus, cofus cyfion
Sydd un o'r Cyngor, rhôl ansoddion;
Sioswy i'r fainc, rymus Siason,
Siry' yn fynych, drych drwy w'chion,
Sir y fflint, gwir brint, gerbron a'th garant
Lifftenant, gwarant mawr ragorion
Doe i'n ymwarded, d'enw Ymeirion,
Dy air yn irfawr a droe yn Arfon;
Da gwstos ydwyd, gost osodon',
Rotulorum euraid, hael aeron.
Dodwch yr heddwch lle'r haeddon', tro'n faith,
A gÿra ffalswaith y gÿr ffeilsion

The next section praises his wealth and his family and wishes him well; he is also praised as a landlord. His recent knighthood is mentioned and it is then mentioned that King James should make him an earl:⁴⁶

Brenin Siams ddinam sydd union yma
Yn Iarll a'th urdda, cyfa' cofion

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44. These quotations do not lend themselves to literal translation; in these lines the poet refers to the Essex visit with his retinue and to the hospitality which they enjoyed there. He goes on to praise the expedition and the fear it arouses among the Irish and to praise, too, Sir Thomas's magnanimity.
45. Here Huw Machno refers to Sir Thomas's membership of the Council in the Marches (this suggests that the poem was not composed until after 1602 when he became a member). He is a Joshua on the bench, has often been sheriff and is a deputy lieutenant of Flintshire. In Caernarvonshire, too, he is influential and is custos rotulorum of the county.
46. This is the literal meaning of the passage.

This poem is a typical example of the change which occurred in the content of the poetry addressed to the Welsh gentry in the sixteenth century. During the two previous centuries the increase in the material well-being of this class had been reflected in the poets' descriptions of their houses and particularly of the tables they kept but there was little reference to the reasons for their prosperity nor to the holding of office, despite its importance.⁴⁷ In the sixteenth century, however, it has been suggested that the wishes and the taste of the patron had as much effect on the content of the poems sung to him as had the views of the bards themselves.⁴⁸ This may help to explain the fact that no less than five poets referred to the entertainment of Essex at Mostyn in 1599 and, since they had by now come to reflect the values, wishes, and aspirations of their patrons very often, one must wonder whether Sir Thomas wanted the entertainment publicised and, if so, why. Admittedly, the earl had a following in Wales but there is no evidence of the Mostyns having been Essex supporters.⁴⁹ Sir Thomas must have been aware of the earl's very shaky position at court and of the fact that the Irish expedition was his last throw on which he had staked everything; enough Welshmen had prospered in Elizabethan London to provide the gentry at home with regular correspondents who had access to reliable sources. The emphasis on the visit by the poets was hardly intended to impress influential circles in Dublin or London with the wealth, magnificence, and hospitality of Sir Thomas Mostyn; these things could be reported by those who had been in the earl's train. It was more likely to have been part of a struggle for power and influence among the gentry of North Wales; these poems may have been intended to show that Sir Thomas Mostyn had contacts in high places and their partial purpose, at least, may have been the edification of John Wynn of Gwydir on that account. It is

47. For a discussion of the development of patronage in the middle ages see D. J. Bowen, 'Agweddau ar ganu'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg a'r bymthegfed' in Llên Cymru, IX (1966), pp. 46-73.

48. This is considered by D. J. Bowen in 'Agweddau ar ganu'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg' in Trans. Cymm., 1969, p. 284.

49. For the popularity of Essex in Wales see A. H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales, pp. 80-1.

interesting to note that as late as 1604, four years after the earl's disgrace and execution, Rhys Cain was still referring to this entertainment at Mostyn.

Several of the poems to Sir Thomas also relate to his tenure of office and one, a cywydd composed by William Cynwal some time between 1584 and 1587, mentions what was obviously regarded as the family's special relationship with the bardic order.⁵⁰ Altogether, the poetry addressed to Sir Thomas contains a considerable amount of interesting material, but that to his son and successor, Sir Roger, is not nearly as interesting. The most important body of poetry here, especially in the general context of patronage, is the set of poems by no less than ten poets who celebrated the marriage of Roger Mostyn and Mary Wynn at Cwydir in August, 1596.⁵¹ The very existence of this poetry shows the importance of both the Mostyns and the Wynns as patrons in that all the leading poets of the time should attend the wedding; however, since, Sir John Wynn was the giver of the feast, the poems reflect his patronage rather than that of the Mostyns and the poems are mainly concerned with praising the family of the bride. There are three later poems to Sir Roger, all by Siôn Cain, and the role of the family as patrons did not end with his death in 1642; although his successors are strictly outside the terms of reference of this study, it is worth noting that his grandson Sir Roger, the first baronet, was also a patron. Siôn Edward and Rhys Cadwaladr composed englynion to him and his elegy when he died in 1690 was sung by Owen Gruffydd, one of the last of the professional poets.⁵² The second baronet, another Sir Thomas, was an outstanding patron although he lived at a time when the tradition of aristocratic patronage was on its deathbed. During his father's lifetime he lived at Gloddaith and he was responsible for collecting many of the contents of the library, both there and at Mostyn. It would be no exaggeration to call Sir Thomas the last of the great patrons; he appears to have spoken Welsh fluently, so he can be assumed to have understood what he encouraged, unlike so many of his contemporaries who would give a poet a few shillings for a cywydd which might just

50. N.L.W. Llanstephan 125, pp. 305-8; this is discussed at a later point in this chapter.

51. This marriage is discussed in Chapter V above.

52. R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru, IX, p. 92.

as well have been in Chinese, a pathetic end to a great tradition. The craft remained, but at a lower social level; the patrons who had sustained it were now gone. Edward Morris, Ffowc Wyn, Siôn Dafydd Las, Rhys Cadwaladr, Morys Parry and Siôn Edward sang to him, while his death was mourned, as well it might have been, by Owen Gruffydd and Huw Morys.⁵³ Much of this poetry is of interest for the light it sheds on the last real manifestation of patronage and on the bards' awareness of their condition.⁵⁴

When bards bewailed the times they had always hailed Sir Thomas as an honourable exception but when he died in 1692 the long history of the Mostyns as patrons of the traditional literary culture really came to an end.⁵⁵ During succeeding generations poems in the traditional form were composed to members of the family from time to time but these occasional pieces were not really in the true line of descent from the professional poets;⁵⁶ apart from the form employed, 'Ilwydlas', who composed six englynion on the marriage of Thomas Edward Mostyn Lloyd-Mostyn and Lady Henrietta Augusta Nevill in the 1850s which were published in Y Brython, had little in common with Gruffudd Hiraethog. The tradition of patronage did remain but it took a completely different form. Sir Thomas had probably collected many of the Welsh manuscripts which now form one of the principal collections in the National Library; the English dramatist Farquhar dedicated his play The Constant Couple to his son Sir Roger, the third baronet, and in 1764 Ieuan Fardd dedicated Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards to Sir Roger Mostyn, the fifth baronet.⁵⁷

Thus an examination of the Mostyns as patrons of the bards illustrate the changing relationship of the gentry and the poets during the period under review. The world was changing and the class which provided patronage was changing with it.

53. For a full discussion of Sir Thomas as a patron see *ibid.*, pp. 92-7.

54. Mr. Charles (*ibid.*, pp. 94-6) quotes Edward Morris's lines on the subject and considers several similar poems.

55. It is interesting that a neighbour of Sir Thomas who also honoured the traditional obligations of his class was Robert Wynn of Bodysgallen whose family stemmed originally from the Mostyns and was to be reunited with them in the eighteenth century.

56. R. Alun Charles in Llên Cymru, IX, pp. 106-8.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 98. Mr. Charles suggests that the traditional forms of patronage might have survived had the Mostyns not married English wives from the mid-seventeenth century (*ibid.*, p. 106), but this is open to question.

Twenty four skills, including the ability to read Welsh and to play the harp and a knowledge of poetry and heraldry, were traditionally expected of the cultivated gentleman and here lay the origin of the commonplace books such as that compiled by Gruffudd Hiraethog for Richard Mostyn.⁵⁸ But as the Welsh gentry came to be more and more familiar with the social and cultural standards of their counterparts across the border, their idea of what made a cultivated gentleman changed.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the forms used by the bards had now passed their maturity. Their art had begun to decline after the death of Tudur Aled in 1527.⁶⁰ As with so many other crafts, the poets were conservative, jealous of their skills, and resistant to change and the humanists had some justification for pointing to their narrowness and ignorance of anything outside their craft. It had become ossified; there was no sign of development, nothing dynamic in the classical poetry of the late sixteenth century and the decline of patronage may have been as much due to this as to Anglicisation and the lack of interest on the part of the gentry.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the gradual Anglicisation of the greater families which resulted from education at English schools, marriage to English heiresses, and more and more frequent visits to London also contributed to the disintegration of the bardic order, as did the spread of literacy and of printing which were blows at a culture which depended on oral transmission by a trained elite.⁶² Even those gentlemen who remained entirely Welsh in their interests and tastes were looking elsewhere by the seventeenth century; the exemplars were now men like Robert Vaughan and Rowland Vaughan. When one considers this one wonders whether the continued patronage of the Mostyns was all that praiseworthy and whether the interest of the second baronet was not that of the antiquary (as witness his collecting of manuscripts) rather than that of the patron of a living

58. D. J. Bowen in Trans. Cymm., 1969, p. 305.

59. Ibid., p. 307.

60. R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Wales and the Renaissance' in Wales through the Ages, II, p. 47.

61. Ibid., p. 48; D. J. Bowen, Gruffudd Hiraethog a'i Oes (1958), pp. 64-5; the point is made here that men like Gruffydd Robert and Siôn Dafydd Rhys, both travelled and cultivated observers, drew attention to this decline.

62. W. Ogwen Williams, 'The survival of the Welsh language after the union of England and Wales: the first phase, 1536-1642' in W.H.R., II, i (1964), pp. 79-86.

tradition. His relationship with Siôn Dafydd Las or Edward Morris could not have been the same bond as that which had existed between four successive generations and Simwnt Fychan. One is inclined to suspect that when he had recited his cywydd the late seventeenth-century poet retired to the servants' hall. The cash payment remained but the personal gifts had gone.

When the part played by the Mostyns as patrons is considered, two questions stand out, namely, how did the family enjoy such eminence and why did the tradition of patronage survive for so long? Other families were just as important as patrons during the sixteenth century and it is really the connection with the Caerwys eisteddfodau that has caused posterity to regard the Mostyn family as exceptional.⁶³ But they did suddenly blossom forth after Thomas Mostyn inherited the estate in 1540 and this could possibly be because they had reached a point where they no longer had to climb or compete. They had a large estate, they had the wealth to sustain their position, and they seem on the whole to have been satisfied with what they had. There was no over-riding ambition to dominate North Wales and, in any case, the estate, though large, was scattered through four counties. Thus they did not have the concentrated local power of Gwydir or Baron Hill; even in Flintshire they were no more powerful than the Hammers and several other families ran them close. It has already been suggested that there was an element of propaganda in some of the poetry and that they were not entirely without ambition but on the whole the Mostyns were able to maintain their position without too much effort. This may have made it easier to sustain the old values and their attitude was certainly conservative, as witness Sir Roger's reaction to his heir standing for parliament. There is also the question of wealth; the fact that the Gloddaith family, in particular, did not play any important part as patrons until after the marriage of its heiress to the heir of Mostyn and Pengwern leads one to wonder whether a particular level of income was necessary.⁶³ The statute of Gruffydd ap Cynan did lay down certain regulations;

63. This point about the Gloddaith family is considered in Chapter III.

only one poet could visit a person with an income of £10, two a person with an income of £20 and so on at the three great feasts.⁶⁴ From a 'patrimonial nobleman' a pencerdd could claim a gift of 81 pence for a cywydd once every three years if his estate was worth at least £5 a year;⁶⁵ the other payments and perquisites due to the poets from time to time by those recognised as patrons were also set out in the statute, which does lead one to wonder whether some sort of recognition by the bards was necessary before an uchelwr was accepted as a patron. As far as the survival of the tradition of patronage in the family is concerned, it may well have been the conservatism already mentioned, coupled with the antiquarian interests of the second baronet which perhaps impelled him to maintain the custom; on the other hand a sense of obligation cannot be discounted since the Mostyns were always very conscious of their history and their duty. But Sir Thomas's claim to the gratitude of posterity must be the library he collected rather than the last gasps of a moribund tradition which he inspired; he could have done far more for the language and literature of Wales in other ways.

In their capacity as patrons the Mostyns are best known for their connection with the two eisteddfodau held at Caerwys in 1523 and 1567 or 1568.⁶⁶ These eisteddfodau had nothing in common with the modern institution bearing the same name; they were concerned entirely with professional poets and musicians. For these poetry and music were crafts practised by professional craftsmen who had undergone a long and arduous training. After the conquest, when the poets ceased to be connected with the royal courts, they travelled around the country visiting the seats of the uchelwyr who patronised them and it goes without saying that not only did they bring their cywyddau and awdlau but also news gathered on their travels, stories, political propaganda, and gossip; this explains the suspicion in which they were held by the authorities and the enactments against them by

64. T. Gwynn Jones, 'Bardism and Romance' in Trans. Cymm., 1913-4, p. 254; the three great feasts were Christmas, Easter and Whit.

65. Ibid., p. 257.

66. For a general account of the eisteddfodau see Gwyn Thomas, Eisteddfodau Caerwys (1968), also the bibliography there.

Edward I after the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn and in the penal statutes of 1402.⁶⁷ They were jealous of their skill; like any other craft guild they were anxious to control the standards of entry, the grant of qualifications, and the quality of the product and they looked to the uchelwyr to help them in this. There were three bardic provinces, Aberffraw, Mathrafal, and Dinefwr, corresponding with Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth, and the bardic order appears to have been organised within these provinces; this fits in with the responsibility of the pencerdd in the laws for the bards of the kingdom. Thus there was a highly organised system of professional poets who had served a rigorous apprenticeship, passing through various grades of attainment on the way to the ultimate status of pencerdd, and this is the background against which the first Caerwys eisteddfod of 1523 must be considered.⁶⁸

The journeying of poets from house to house seems to have become a serious problem by 1523. It was a nuisance for the gentry and a threat to the professional poets who naturally resented a flood of unqualified minstrels and versifiers who put their position in jeopardy. Their position was also threatened by successive enactments against itinerant minstrels and vagabonds with whom they could all too easily be confused by the authorities who could see no difference between expert craftsmen and public nuisances. In England Edward IV had granted a charter to the marshal of the guild of minstrels in 1469, under which the officers of the guild were to have disciplinary powers over the profession throughout the kingdom, except in Cheshire where the Dutton family enjoyed a similar jurisdiction which seems to have stemmed originally from a grant by the earl of Chester in the thirteenth century.⁶⁹ Thus steps had been taken to incorporate the minstrels and protect them from the vagrancy laws and from the restrictions on free movement imposed by the Statute of Labourers, but no such charter had been granted to the bards although they were an organised craft; they went unprotected although in

67. Record of Caernarvon, p. 132; Ivor Bowen, The Statutes of Wales, p. 34.

68. The gradus ad Parnassum is described by Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp. 58-60; see also T. Gwynn Jones, Op. cit., pp. 260-1.

69. E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (1903), I, p. 55; E. I. Rowlands in Llên Cymru, VII (1963), p. 239; E. K. Chambers, Op. cit., II, p. 259.

practice the influence of their patrons was probably such that they were safe from humiliation except, perhaps, in the towns. Nevertheless, their position was rather ambiguous; they were welcomed by the men on whom the crown depended to govern Wales, but, at the same time, they had no formal right to go on circuit.⁷⁰ A poet going his rounds could conceivably be put in the stocks as a vagabond and, terrible as bardic revenge might be, the experience would be a humiliating one.

In 1520 Henry VIII renewed Edward IV's charter to the minstrels and it has been suggested that herein lay the origin of the first Caerwys eisteddfod.⁷¹ The confirmation of the privileged status of the minstrels of England may have led influential people to consider the position of the poets in Wales. There is nothing to suggest whence the initiative might have come but an eisteddfod was held at Caerwys in 1523 and it seems pretty obvious that its purpose was to separate the wheat from the chaff. The question of granting the bardic order legal status and protection was an urgent one, especially when the authorities were trying to get to grips with the problem of vagabondage, a problem which stemmed in part from the spread of enclosure, especially in the English midlands, and the resulting movement of people driven off the land.⁷² The eisteddfod's function was the regulation of the bardic order by means of public examination, the conferment of degrees, and the granting of licences to practise. The proclamation has survived;⁷³ the preamble announced the holding of an eisteddfod at Caerwys on 2 July, 1523, to 'bring order and government to the craftsmen in poetic art and their art according to the words of the Statute of Gruffydd ap Cyman, Prince of Gwynedd'. It was followed by the so-called statute; this was alleged to have

70. The point is made by Enid Roberts, 'Eisteddfod Caerwys, 1567' in Trans Denbs. Hist. Soc., XVI (1967), p. 26.

71. E. I. Rowlands, Op. cit., p. 239; for a general discussion see ibid., pp. 238-41, and D. J. Bowen, in Llên Cymru IX, (1966), pp. 69-72, where the author also discusses the interesting parallel of the heralds and their provinces, a point of some relevance in connection with the bardic order in the sixteenth century.

72. J. D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, pp. 453-4; the first act was passed in 1495

73. This is quoted in Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp. 42-4.

been promulgated by Gruffydd ap Cynan in the twelfth century, but the likelihood is that it was drawn up in 1523.⁷⁴ It was, in effect, the constitution of the bardic order, laying down the rules for the training of poets and the granting of degrees, specifying the knowledge required for each one, giving details of how the circuits at the three great festivals should be organised, noting the payments due to the different grades and laying down the standards of professional conduct.⁷⁵

The importance of the first Caerwys eisteddfod for this study lies, of course, in the part played by Richard ap Hywel in its activities. Indeed, the proclamation poses two questions, namely, why was Caerwys chosen and why did Richard take such an important part? According to the statute Gruffydd ap Cynan's eisteddfod where he first imposed order and discipline on the poets and musicians was held there; his wife Angharad was the daughter of Owain ab Edwin, lord of Tegeingl, and Caerwys could have been a royal seat.⁷⁶ But there is no mention of the statute before 1523 and this reference was probably included to supply a precedent for an eisteddfod at Caerwys. Miss Enid Roberts has suggested that Caerwys might have been chosen because it was a Welsh borough; its burgesses were Welsh and many of the leading families in Flintshire had property there. Consequently there would be no danger of racial clashes and if there was any trouble in so large a gathering help could easily be summoned from Chester.⁷⁷ It must also be remembered that north-east Wales was the centre of Welsh literary and cultural activity in the sixteenth century and that it was therefore natural that bards and musicians should meet in 'the Tuscany of Wales'.⁷⁸ Caerwys was on the border of Gwynedd and Powys and the two eisteddfodau seem to have been for

74. The suggestion was that Gruffydd had reformed the bardic order on the lines of its counterpart in Ireland where he had spent his early life; the whole question of the statute is discussed in detail in E. I. Rowlands, Op. cit., pp. 238-43.

75. There is a brief discussion of the contents of the statute in Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp. 52-76.

76. Enid Roberts, Op. cit., p. 27.

77. Ibid., p. 28.

78. The phrase is used by P. Smith and M. Bevan-Evans, 'A few reflections on Gellilyfdy and the Renaissance in North-eastern Wales' in Journ. Flints. Hist. Soc., XXIV (1969-70), p. 21.

the province of Mathrafal as well as for that of Aberffraw.⁷⁹ But perhaps it was above all the part played by the Mostyn family that was responsible for the two eisteddfodau being held at Caerwys.⁸⁰

According to the proclamation the first eisteddfod was to be held on 2 July, 1523, before Richard ap Hywel, with the aid of Sir Roger Salusbury and Sir William Griffith and the advice of Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan and Tudur Aled, 'chaired bard', who were, presumably, professional assessors. Sir William Griffith was chamberlain of North Wales and father-in-law of Richard's eldest son Thomas and Sir Roger Salusbury was Richard's nephew as well as being steward of Denbigh. Gruffydd ap Ieuan was Richard's son-in-law as well as being both poet and uchelwr. But why should Richard ap Hywel have been made responsible for the ordering of the poets? The chief bard held office, at least in part, under the authority of the king and it was the king who had chartered the minstrels in England. There had been no independent Welsh rulers since 1282 or, if Powys is considered, 1309. The statute indicated that the uchelwyr had inherited this authority over the poets, but this may well have been a piece of special pleading to justify the part played by the three named in the proclamation;⁸¹ this does, however, imply that the final authority lay outside the bardic order. Tudur Aled was the outstanding poet of the time and probably the head of the order. The three uchelwyr were among the leading members of their class in North Wales and this in itself might have caused the responsibility to be laid on them. But the final authority might still have lain with the king; it was later suggested that the eisteddfod was held by his commission and a passage in the statute may be relevant:⁸²

... gwŷr wrth gerdd a ddylai ddwyn ymarweddiad heddychol, hawddgar, caredig, ufudd, gwasanaethgar i bawb o gywiriaid y tywysog a'i swyddogion, eu cadarnhau a'u cynorthwy

79. Enid Roberts, Op. cit., p. 28.

80. This is discussed by Enid Roberts, Op. cit., pp. 29-33.

81. E. I. Rowlands, Op. cit., p. 240.

82. 'Men of song should bear themselves peacefully, amiably, kindly, obediently, obligingly to all those loyal to the prince and his officers, to strengthen and help them'. Gwyn Thomas quotes and draws attention to the significance of this passage in Op. cit., p. 74; he also makes the point that this may have been a deliberate attempt to fit the bardic order into the official system, which indicates that the poets were no longer regarded as a threat to law and order (p. 76).

The question really is whether Richard ap Hywel and his colleagues were acting under a royal commission or whether the uchelwyr of North Wales, represented by three of their number, had taken upon themselves the task of bringing some organisation into the bardic order and on the evidence available one can go no further than that.

This does not, however, explain why Richard ap Hywel should have presided over the eisteddfod. He was a prominent man with interests in three counties as well as in one of the marcher lordships; indeed, his estates were probably spread more widely than those of anyone else and his extensive connections might have been one reason for choosing him.⁸³ In 1523 he was under-sheriff of Flintshire although this would not in itself account for his responsibility.⁸⁴ Miss Roberts has suggested that the Mostyns might have been the patrons of the bardic order in North Wales as the Dutton family in Cheshire were patrons of the minstrels there;⁸⁵ this is an interesting point, especially since the family organised both eisteddfodau, but again it sheds no light on how or when the responsibility was conferred on them. Leland, writing some time between 1536 and 1539, was aware of some such function, although his description is rather garbled:⁸⁶

Hoеле was a gentilman of Flyntshir that by auncient accustome was wont to gyve the bagge of the sylver harpe to the beste harper of North Walys, as by a privilege of his auncetors, dwellith at Penrine yn Flyntshir

But who were these ancestors? It is, of course, possible that Richard was working to build up the standing of his family in North Wales and that he therefore took the responsibility on himself.⁸⁷ There was also a connection, albeit a tenuous one, with the Duttons; Elizabeth Dutton was Sir Roger Salusbury's great-grandmother, which meant that Richard's wife, Katherine Salusbury, was also descended from her.⁸⁸ Perhaps the relationship is a little too remote to be

83. Enid Roberts, *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

84. P.R.O. S.C.6/Henry VIII/5105; the sheriff was Ralph Egerton. Richard had been under-sheriff as early as 1509 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6623).

85. Enid Roberts, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

86. L. Toulmin Smith, ed., The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539 (1906), pp. 92-3.

87. Enid Roberts, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

88. E. I. Rowlands, *Op. cit.*, p. 239 n.

significant but Tudur Aled did lay considerable stress on the Dutton connection with Sir Roger Salusbury and there is one Dutton reference among the Mostyn papers.⁸⁹ On 15 October, 1558, David and Rhys ap Benet and Thomas ap Robert ap Ithel, all gentlemen of Whitford, bound themselves in £2,000 to indemnify William Mostyn for the sum of £1,000 in which he stood bound to Katherine Dutton, widow. Moreover, Flintshire was part of the earldom of Chester until 1536 and any authority conferred on Richard might have been in imitation of the system in Cheshire or granted in the knowledge of it. It may also be significant that on 10 April, 1506, Dafydd ap Ithel ap Tudur and his brother John, free tenants of Caerwys, conveyed half a burgage there with the building on it to Richard ap Hywel.⁹⁰ It has been suggested that this was intended as a town house and that the eisteddfod was held there;⁹¹ such functions were traditionally held in the houses of the uchelwyr responsible. Mostyn might not have been large enough before William Mostyn extended it and the house in Caerwys might therefore have been larger and more convenient and better suited to receiving a large number of people and conducting an eisteddfod. But, be that as it may, the sum total of our knowledge is that an eisteddfod was held at Caerwys in 1523, that Richard ap Hywel presided and that a chair was won by Tudur Aled who thereby confirmed his position and gained the silver trophy.⁹²

According to the statute an eisteddfod was to be held every three years but it was more than forty before another took place. Until recently it was assumed to have been held in 1568 and, indeed, the quatercentenary was celebrated at Caerwys in 1968, but Miss Roberts has shown beyond reasonable doubt that in fact it took place the previous year.⁹³ Once again it was held under the auspices of the Mostyns, in this case William, the grandson of Richard ap Hywel. The commission under which the eisteddfod was held was issued at Chester and bears

89. Ibid., p. 239; U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 94.

90. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 2011.

91. Enid Roberts, Op. cit., pp. 31-3.

92. Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp. 79-80.

93. For the arguments see Enid Roberts, Op. cit., especially pp. 33-5; they are summarised by Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp. 82-96.

the date 23 October, 1567;⁹⁴ it stated that the eisteddfod was to be held at Caerwys on 14 June, 1568, but most of the other evidence indicates that it was actually held on 26 May, 1567. The commission was issued to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Sir Rhys Griffith of Penrhyn, Dr. Elis Price, William Mostyn, Ieuan Lloyd of Yale, John Salusbury of Rûg, Rhys Thomas, Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, William Lewis, Piers Mostyn of Talacre, Owen ap John ap Hywel Fychan, John ap William ap John, John Lewis Owen, Morris Griffith, Simon Thelwall, John Griffith, Elis ap William Lloyd, Robert Puleston, Harry ap Harry, William Glynne of Glynllifon, and Rhys Hughes. The reasons for the commission were set forth in the preamble which stated that various vagrants calling themselves minstrels and bards had become a public nuisance and were hindering the genuine bards in the practice of their art. Consequently the Lord President and the Council in the Marches felt it necessary to see to 'the putting of those people in order'.

The commission, therefore, emanated originally from the Council at Ludlow and its purpose was the same as that of the proclamation of 1523. It arose once again from the problem of vagrancy which was coming to exercise the government more and more and it was intended to impose order on the bards for their own protection. The Council was responsible for supervising the maintenance of law and order in Wales and thus for the control of vagrancy, and the existence of a class of craftsmen whose living depended on travelling from house to house posed the problem of how to distinguish between the trained professional poet and the itinerant mountebank, beggar, or bear-leader;⁹⁵ the legislation against vagrants and sturdy beggars made no such distinction. The commission was issued in the

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94. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, H.M.C. Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, I, i (Mostyn) (1898), p. 291. The commission was printed from either the original or a copy at Mostyn which is not among the family papers at Bangor or Hawarden and which was thought to be missing (Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., p. 84). However, when the bulk of the Mostyn library was sold in October, 1974, lot 298, a first edition of David Powel's Historie of Cambria (1584) was found to have bound into the second volume a copy of the commission which must probably be the one used by Gwenogvryn Evans (Christie's, Catalogue I, p. 75). The commission is also discussed by D. J. Bowen 'Ail eisteddfod Caerwys a chais 1594' in Llên Cymru, III (1955), pp. 139-43.
95. Vagrancy in Wales is discussed briefly by G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales, pp. 184-90; see also Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp. 34-40.

queen's name, which again suggests that the 1523 eisteddfod had also stemmed from the royal will. The commissioners were the leading gentry in the counties of North Wales but only twelve of them were named in the licence granted at Caerwys to Simwnt Fychan, which suggests that not all those named in the commission were actually present.⁹⁶ Bulkeley, Sir Rhys Griffith, Elis Price, and William Mostyn were to form the quorum and it is possible that Price was the official representative of the Council; most of the other members were justices of the peace and all the North Wales counties were represented.⁹⁷ The justices were responsible for the execution of the vagrancy laws and the issue of licences to those who were entitled to wander; all who had obtained a bardic degree enjoyed this right and could receive payment for their work.⁹⁸ The eisteddfod was therefore an official examination of members of the bardic order, culminating in the issue of licences to those who had passed the tests.

The next part of the commission fixed Caerwys as the place of the eisteddfod and referred to the position of the head of the Mostyn family in relation to the bardic order:

And forasmuch as our said Counsaill of late travayling in some parte of the said principalite had perfect understanding by credible report that thaccustomed place for the execution of the like Commissyon hath bene heretofore at Cayroes in our Countie of fflynt and that william mostyn esq. and his auncestors have had the gyfte and bestowing of the sylver harpe appertayning to the Cheff of that facultie and that a yeares warning at the least hath bene accustomed to be geaven of thassembly and execucion of the like Commissyon ...

The silver harp was normally held by the master musician, while the chief poet had a miniature silver chair.⁹⁹ Another source states that the pencerdd in each province was entitled to carry a silver jewel; if he won this at an eisteddfod he could hold it without challenge for the rest of his life and he would then be recognised as the only teacher in that province.¹⁰⁰ After his death the jewel had to be returned to the place from which it came; this presumably applied also to

96. Enid Roberts, Op. cit., p. 36; the twelve individuals are discussed in detail, pp. 37-47.

97. Enid Roberts, Op. cit., p. 37.

98. Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., p. 106.

99. Ibid., p. 78.

100. T. Gwynn Jones, Op. cit., p. 256.

the harp and explains why it is still at Mostyn. The poet-genealogist Gruffydd Dwnn pointed out the significance of the harp in a note in one of the Mostyn account books in which he listed the qualifications and skills required of the aspirant musician.¹⁰¹ Possibly William Mostyn had been making enquiries about his responsibilities in connection with the forthcoming eisteddfod (the document is dated 1567) and Dwnn was at Mostyn advising him;¹⁰² he was uchelwr, patron, poet, and even teacher of poets.¹⁰³ At the end of his note he referred to his having read the statute about half a century previously, which probably meant that he had seen it at the time of the 1523 eisteddfod.

A number of the other commissioners were related to William Mostyn; in such a tightly-knit class as that of the uchelwyr this was hardly surprising. William's mother was a Griffith of Penrhyn, which made Sir Rhys his uncle. Another uncle was Piers Mostyn of Talacre while Robert, the son of Morris Griffith of Porthamel, another commissioner, married William's daughter Grace.¹⁰⁴ Ieuan Lloyd of Yale, later knighted, was not only William's brother-in-law, having married his sister Elizabeth; his father was the half-brother of William's first wife Margaret Powell.¹⁰⁵ William Glynne of Glynllifon was also a brother-in-law, his first wife having been Katherine Mostyn, who died before 1558; his second wife, Angharad, was the widow of Rowland Griffith of Porthamel.¹⁰⁶ As in the case of the Glyn Dŵr revolt, so also here there is a close and tightly-knit group with ramifications extending throughout North Wales; a number of the commissioners were descended from the family of Coedymynydd in Northop, an important line of patrons, while another, Owen ap John ap Hywel Fychan of Llwydiarth, was the leading uchelwr in Montgomeryshire, which suggests that the eisteddfod was intended to restore order in what was left of the province of Mathrafal as well as in that of Aberffraw.¹⁰⁷

The commission went on to order the proclamation of the eisteddfod in all the fairs and markets within the five counties of North Wales. All who claimed to be

101. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6476, f. 12a.

102. Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., p. 96.

103. Enid Roberts, Op. cit., p. 61.

104. Ibid., p. 40.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid., p. 41.

107. Ibid., pp. 42, 46-7.

professional bards within the province of Aberffraw were to appear before the commissioners and their expert assessors to be examined. Those who were not true bards and could not qualify for any degrees were to betake themselves to a trade forthwith and were not to enjoy the protection given to professional poets. An attempt was made in 1572, when the act of that year against vagrants was going through parliament, to protect the poets; the act laid down severe penalties which also applied to minstrels and there was some fear that these would also apply to the poets on their rounds.¹⁰⁸ The bill was modified in committee to exempt those with licences from justices of the peace and those attached to magnates' households and it may not be without significance that William Mostyn was a member of this parliament. Those who qualified at Caerwys certainly were licensed and this brings out the importance of the fact that most of the commissioners were justices. In future a bard could safeguard himself by producing his licence; the pencerdd licence granted to Simwnt Fychan at Caerwys and signed by a number of the commissioners has survived in a copy.¹⁰⁹ According to some sources the chair was won by Simwnt Fychan, while others say that William Llŷn was victorious; whoever did win presumably became the head of the order in North Wales. But the primary function of the eisteddfod was to regulate the bardic order and this regulation was supported by the gentry and the authorities on the one hand and by the poets themselves on the other.¹¹⁰

The Caerwys eisteddfod of 1567 was the last of its kind, which shows that the bardic tradition was beginning to decline. In May, 1594, a number of the gentry of North Wales asked the Council for a commission to hold another, but their request was not granted;¹¹¹ the petitioners included Thomas Prys of Plas

108. A. H. Dodd, Life in Elizabethan England, pp. 119-20; the point is discussed briefly in Chapter VIII of this study.

109. The licence is illustrated in Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., facing p. 81. At the eisteddfod Lewis ap Edward, William Llŷn, Simwnt Fychan, and Owain Gwynedd graduated as penceirddiaid while Siôn Tudur, William Cynwal, and Siôn Philip were among those admitted to the penultimate degree of disgybl pencerddiaid (*ibid.*, p. 96; Enid Roberts, Op. cit., pp. 48 ff).

110. Gwyn Thomas, Op. cit., pp. 106-8.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 110; Enid Roberts, Op. cit., p. 33; D. J. Bowen, 'Ail eisteddfod Caerwys a chais 1594' in Llên Cymru, III (1955), pp. 139-61. The petition was printed by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Op. cit., pp. 293-5.

Iolyn and John Wynn of Gwydir but none of the Mostyn family.¹¹² Siôn Mawddwy urged George Owen of Henllys to try to have an eisteddfod held but again to no purpose. The final part of the 1567 commission again showed the special responsibility of the Mostyns:

... the said willm. mostyn hath promised to see furnytüre and thinges necessary provided for that assembly at the place aforesaid

The authorities must therefore have already been in touch with him. Siôn Philip referred to the relationship in his cywydd composed for the wedding in 1596:¹¹³

Hwn a'i dad, tyfiad hoewfael,
Piau roi, y mab pur hael,
I gerdd delyn gradd dwywlad,
Ariandlws hardd, rowndwal sad

The reasons for holding the two eisteddfodau at Caerwys are therefore well-known; so, too, is a certain amount about what happened at them.¹¹⁴ That the head of the Mostyn family played an important, even a predominant part at both there is no doubt; nor is there any doubt that from the time of the first Thomas Mostyn to the last decade of the seventeenth century they were important and generous patrons and that Gruffudd Hiraethog and Simwnt Fychan had had a particularly close relationship with the family. But the problem of how and why the head of the Mostyn family became responsible for the examination of the bardic order and for

112. The connection of John Wynn with the 1594 request leads one to wonder whether the great wedding feast of 1596 was possibly intended as a sort of unofficial eisteddfod; in view of the Mostyn link with the bardic order it is also conceivable that Wynn's connection with a request with which Thomas Mostyn was not associated might have been one of the causes of the bad blood between the two men. Thomas's son-in-law Piers Griffith of Penrhyn was also one of the signatories.

113. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 13b: 'He and his father, a profitable growth, it belongs to him, the generous man, to give for the harp's song the degree of two lands, a fair silver jewel, a firm foundation'. The relationship is also mentioned by William Cynwal in his cywydd to Thomas (N.L.W. Llanstephan 123, p. 307).

114. For other articles on the eisteddfodau see D. J. Bowen, 'Graddedigion eisteddfod Caerwys, 1523 a 1567-8' in Llên Cymru, II (1953), pp. 129-34; and Gerallt Harries, 'Ail eisteddfod Caerwys' in *idem.*, III (1954), pp. 24-31.

conferring the badge of office on its head remains unsolved; there is, moreover, nothing in the medieval background of the Mostyns or in the history of any of the component lines to explain why such a responsibility should have existed.¹¹⁵

But exist it did, and the silver harp, still among the treasures of Mostyn, bears witness to it.

115. It could probably be argued that this responsibility fell on the Mostyns by virtue of their descent from Ednyfed Fychan who might once have exercised such a jurisdiction in his capacity as seneschal of Gwynedd. The families of Penrhyn and Mostyn were his most distinguished descendants after the Glyn Dwr revolt and the heads of both houses were involved in both eisteddfodau.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Sir Roger Mostyn was succeeded on his death in 1642 by his grandson and namesake who at that time was about eighteen years old.¹ He was one of the best-known members of the family and played an active part in the Civil War, being governor of Flint and one of the Royalist commanders in North Wales.² After the Restoration a baronetcy was conferred on him by Charles II and, like his predecessors, he played an active part in local affairs. He died in 1690 and was succeeded by his son Thomas, remembered as one of the last patrons of the bards and an avid collector of books and manuscripts; it was by Thomas's marriage to Bridget Savage that the family acquired its extensive estates in Cheshire. The direct line of descent ended in Sir Thomas Mostyn, the sixth baronet, who died unmarried in 1831;³ the estates then passed to his brother-in-law Sir Edward Pryce Lloyd who in the same year was created Baron Mostyn of Mostyn.⁴ His son, the second baron, added the Mostyn surname to his own; the present holder of the title is the sixth baron.

Thus the subsequent history of the Mostyns was similar to that of many of the great Welsh landed families; the line ended ultimately in an heiress whose descendants adopted the family surname. But if the Pengwern line is taken as the main line, the succession had been unbroken since at least the thirteenth century. The only break was that of a generation in 1642 when Sir Roger was succeeded by his grandson and not by his eldest son who had predeceased him, but this did not mark any failure in the line; from the beginning every head of the family had managed to produce a male heir. Indeed, some marriages were remarkable for their fertility; Iorwerth Foel had ten sons and the pedigrees credit Ednyfed Gam with nine, while the first Thomas Mostyn had no less than nineteen children by his marriage to Jane Griffith. And it was this family's advantageous marriages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which brought together the scattered estates in

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1. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 135.
 2. Ibid., pp. 135-44; Norman Tucker, 'Colonel Sir Roger Mostyn, first baronet, 1624-1690' in Journ. Flints. Hist. Soc., XVII(1956-7), pp. 42-54.
 3. Mostyn & Glenn, p. 177.
 4. Bywgraffiadur, p. 635.

different parts of North Wales which the poet-genealogists of the sixteenth century were to call the Five Courts.

The first member of the family to enjoy possession of all the Five Courts was Richard ap Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan who died in 1540. His sons Thomas and Piers, the founder of the family of Mostyn of Talacre, were the first to adopt the surname; in the case of Thomas the change was a gradual one which can be monitored in contemporary deeds and which occurred between 1541 and 1547. The sixteenth century saw the emergence of the Mostyns as one of the leading families in North Wales, though they never attained the eminence of some of the houses with which they were to ally themselves. From the time of the first Thomas onwards they were justices of the peace in Flintshire and usually in Caernarvonshire as well.⁵ At various times they occupied the shrievalties of Flintshire, Denbighshire, Caernarvonshire, and Anglesey. William, Sir Thomas, and Sir Roger all represented Flintshire in parliament; the last two were also members of the Council in the Marches and deputy-lieutenants. Younger sons went into the church and the army and some served in Ireland, although in the sixteenth century it is often difficult for the student to distinguish between younger sons of Mostyn and Talacre; Robert Mostyn, one of the sons of the first Thomas, settled in Connaught and his son Hugh went over to the Spanish side, being last heard of serving with one of the king of Spain's Irish regiments in Flanders.

In their marriages, too, the Mostyns followed the prevailing fashion.⁶ The estate came into being as a result of various marriages to medieval heiresses, but there were to be no further matches of this kind until the second half of the seventeenth century. During the intervening period they looked to the other leading families of North Wales and occasionally to the border counties for partners for their sons and daughters. Richard ap Hywel's wife was a Salusbury; his heir married a daughter of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn and his daughters married into various Flintshire families. Thomas's son William married twice, his first

5. Office and public life are discussed in Chapter VII above.

6. Marriages are discussed in Chapter IX above.

wife being the daughter of an Oswestry draper of Chirkland landowning stock and his second a Brereton, widow of a former mayor of Chester. His sisters married sons of Glynllifon, Lleuar, Cefnamwlch, Maenan, and Bodanwydog in Iâl; some of them married more than once. His son Thomas married his step-daughter Ursula Goodman; after she died he also married a widow, in this case his kinswoman Katherine, daughter of Piers Mostyn of Talacre and widow of Sir Rhys Griffith of Penrhyn. One of his daughters married the heir of Penrhyn as part of the same transaction; double marriages of this kind were not uncommon and Thomas's younger surviving son, having married the daughter of one bishop of St. Asaph and been widowed, then married the widow of another, while his heir married her daughter and his daughter her son. One of Thomas's sisters married into the family of Porthamel in Anglesey and the other married locally. His heir Roger married one of the daughters of John Wynn of Gwydir and a daughter married into another prominent Flintshire family, the Hammers. Sir Roger's eldest son married the daughter of the Chief Justice of Chester after a long quest for a suitable wife; his daughters intermarried with the Bulkeleyes and the Grosvenors.

The public careers and the marriage alliances of the Mostyns were therefore typical of the times; the record of the medieval components of the estate had, in many ways, been equally typical. The descendants of Ednyfed Fychan, from whom had come Trecastell and Tregarnedd, had been the leading family in the principality between 1282 and the Glyn Dwr[^] revolt and Sir Gruffydd Llwyd of Tregarnedd had been the leader of the royalist party in North Wales during the troubles of Edward II's reign. The Pengwern family had been of some standing in the lordship of Chirkland and a considerable amount of land had been purchased there by Ednyfed Gam, ab Iorwerth Foel who flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century;⁷ they also had lands in Maelor Saesneg but these seem to have been inherited by one of Ednyfed's other sons since there is no further mention of any property there. Ednyfed also appears to have been among the leaders of local opposition to Mortimer rule in the reign of Edward II. Ieuan Fychan ab Ieuan ab

7. The Pengwern family is discussed in Chapter I above.

Adda of Pengwern and Mostyn, who died in 1477, was a prominent Lancastrian and his grandson Richard ap Hywel was one of the leading partisans of the exiled Henry Tudor; the story of his service at Bosworth is well-known.

In fourteenth-century Flintshire the sons of Ithel Fychan of Halkyn played an important part in local affairs and earned an unenviable reputation for extortion and oppression of the tenantry;⁸ one of them, Tudur, was, by his purchases of land, the real founder of the family fortunes. Over a period of more than thirty years he was able to take advantage of a fluid land market and build up an extensive estate with the result that by the end of the century his son Hywel was among the wealthiest landowners in the county. The careers of Hywel and his fellow uchelwyr also show the degree to which law and order were breaking down in the years before the Glyn Dŵr revolt, even in an area as near to the seat of royal administration at Chester as Flintshire. He was also the son-in-law of one of the leading supporters of Owain Lawgoch in North Wales although there is no evidence of his involvement in that conspiracy. The Gloddaith family resembled many other members of the Welsh official class on which the royal government in the principality so often depended and they held numerous local offices.⁹ Their lands were the most dispersed, being in Gloddaith in Creuddyn, in the nearby township of Mochdre in Rhos, in Porthaethwy and Carnan in Anglesey, and in Rhyd in Tegeingl; their participation in the revolt seems to have led to the loss of some of their possessions. All these families were involved in the Glyn Dŵr revolt; some of their members had also seen some military service during the fourteenth century and the distinguished soldier Sir Gregory Sais, who was one of the select circle of knights around the Black Prince and who served in Gascony and Castile after commanding a free company, may have been a grandson of Ithel Fychan.

William Mostyn rebuilt Mostyn itself and Sir Roger extended it; this, again, was a common feature of the period. Nor was there anything unusual in their

8. For the Mostyn line see Chapter II above.

9. The activities of the Gloddaith family are described in Chapter III above.

patronage of the poets from the first Thomas Mostyn onwards;¹⁰ it was in the seventeenth century that they stood out as the last of the great patrons. Like most of their contemporaries they were involved in litigation, though on a lesser scale than many.¹¹ In religion they moved with the times, unlike their Talacre kinsmen; the first Thomas, who died in 1558, left money for prayers for his soul but the will of his son William, who died in 1576, was uncompromisingly Protestant in its tone. All these features show the Mostyns to have developed into a normal Welsh landowning family and if this were all a study of them would be a worthy exercise, adding to our knowledge of this class and helping to round off our picture of it. But this is not the whole picture; the interest of a study of this kind lies in differences rather than in similarities. No two families are alike and this is as true of the Welsh gentry of the past as it is of the nuclear family of today. And certain aspects of the history of the Mostyns do stand out. In the middle of the fourteenth century Tudur ab Ithel Fychan was buying land in Flintshire on a large scale. This means that he was one of, if not the first of the landowners of North Wales to build up a substantial estate in this way and his acquisitions are the earliest example so far known of land purchase on such a scale; this kind of estate building has generally been assumed to have started in the fifteenth century. Not until the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth did the Mostyns again spend large sums on land and then it was to enable Sir Roger Mostyn, at that time still the heir, to provide an inheritance for his younger sons.¹²

The family was also one of the first in North Wales to exploit the coal measures on its land on a commercial scale.¹³ By the early seventeenth century there were extensive workings at Mostyn, indeed, coal-mining had gone on there since the end of the thirteenth century. But it was Sir Thomas and more

10. The Mostyns as patrons are discussed in Chapter X above.

11. Litigation is considered in Chapter VIII above.

12. For a discussion of this see Chapter V above.

13. The coal mines are discussed briefly in Chapter VI above.

particularly Sir Roger who seem to have seen the commercial possibilities of the deposits and to have begun the export trade; this may explain why Sir Roger never seems to have been short of ready money at a time when most landowners were invariably in financial difficulties for much of the year. This was due to their dependence on rents and on the sale of stock for much of their income; coal was sold all the year round. A third difference was the special relationship which the Mostyns seem to have had with the bardic order in the sixteenth century, mentioned several times by contemporary poets and exemplified by the part played by Richard ap Hywel and William Mostyn in the two eisteddfodau held at Caerwys.¹⁴

But, having said all this, it has to be admitted that there are gaps in a study of this kind and this in spite of the wealth of the Mostyn archive. In many ways the activities of other families are better documented. It is very difficult to examine the management of the estate in detail before 1642;¹⁵ the material is not there. There are no estate or household accounts for the period covered by this study. There is nothing relating to any of the Mostyn houses. The surviving correspondence of the family does not begin until after the Restoration so there is nothing remotely comparable with the mass of Gwydir correspondence from the first half of the seventeenth century; indeed, it is only the fact that Sir Roger Mostyn was Sir John Wynn's son-in-law and therefore a regular correspondent that enables us to know so much more about him than about any of his predecessors. Of course, the same is true of most families; most individual Welshmen before the seventeenth century must, to a greater or lesser degree, be lay figures to the historian, but this does not make the lack of personal evidence any less tantalising.

By the standards of North Wales society the Mostyns were wealthy but their landed wealth was scattered over several counties, with the result that they never became the undisputed social and political masters of a single one as did the Bulkeleys in Anglesey. They never became caught up in the rivalries of the

14. For the Caerwys eisteddfodau see Chapter X above.

15. The management of the estate is examined in Chapter VI above.

APPENDIX A

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

1. Pengwern
2. Trecastell
3. Mostyn
4. Gloddaith
5. Tregarnedd
6. Mostyn of Mostyn
7. Mostyn of Talacre

struggle in a county where there was tension between north and south, as in Caernarvonshire, or between east and west, as in Denbighshire. They never dominated Flintshire but were merely one of several influential families who ruled the county between them and who literally governed local politics by gentleman's agreement.¹⁶ But they never faltered; they saw the rise and fall of Penmynydd, of Penrhyn, and of Gwydir in their turn but there is still a Mostyn estate today. Tudur ap Ithel Fychan spent much of his life buying land in Whitford; Lord Mostyn still owns it. In the nineteenth century they planned and built the new town of Llandudno on the Gloddaith estate; they still own most of that.

The Mostyns therefore rose and went on rising. Yet they seem to have been remarkably unambitious and largely content with what they had. They were content to remain on their estates, playing a prominent part in local affairs; parliament and the wider stage of the realm had little attraction for them. Richard ap Hywel could be said to have summed up their attitude in his famous answer to Henry VII's invitation after Bosworth, 'I dwell among my own people'. There was no struggle for titles; the first knighthood in the family was conferred by Essex and the baronetcy did not come until 1660, long after many other North Wales families. They produced no really colourful figure; Hugh Mostyn the traitor cannot match his distant kinsman Piers Griffith of Penrhyn, the privateer, nor can Sir Roger Mostyn compare in personality with the Protean figure of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, although it was to Sir Roger that Sir John turned when in trouble and he once said that he relied on him more than any other man. The family were undoubtedly respected by their contemporaries and this respect seems to have been deserved. Whatever the behaviour of the sons and grandsons of Ithel Fychan in the fourteenth century, the later Mostyns seem to have lacked the ruthless streak that characterised so many families during this period and there is a note of real affection in some of the poetry addressed to them. There were

16. This is discussed in Chapter VII above.

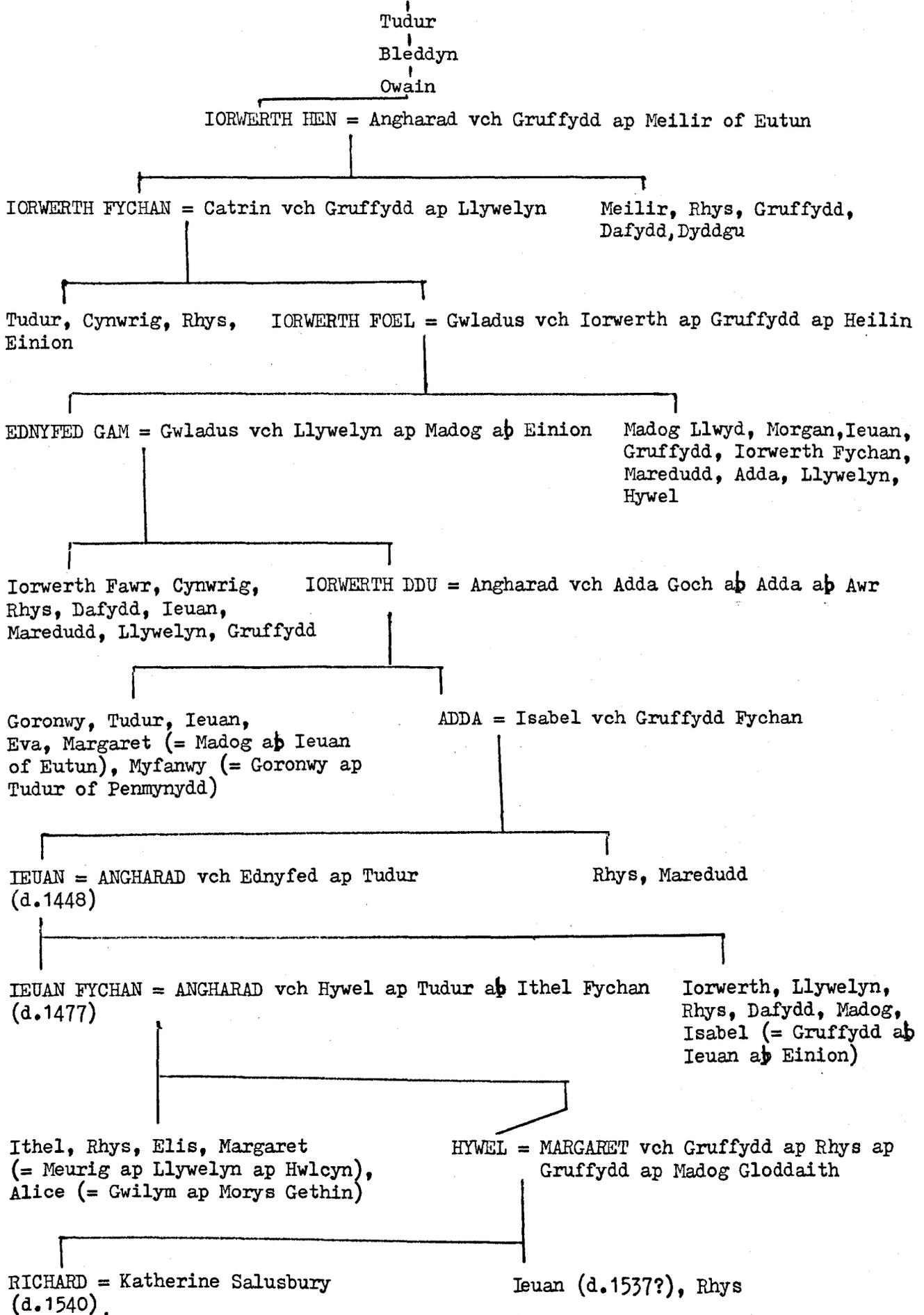
tensions within the family itself; William was involved in litigation with his brother Richard over the manor of Gogarth and Sir Thomas quarrelled with his second wife and his heir and was never reconciled. There is a hint of some sharp practice over the Gogarth lease. But the abiding impression is of a family which behaved reasonably honourably and which gave good service to the community; they seem to have been among the best of the Welsh gentry and it might be appropriate to compare them with Belloc's Charles Augustus Fortescue:¹⁷

Where he resides in Affluence still
To show what everybody might
Become by
SIMPLY DOING RIGHT.

17. J. M. Cohen, ed., More Comic and Curious Verse (1956), p. 139.

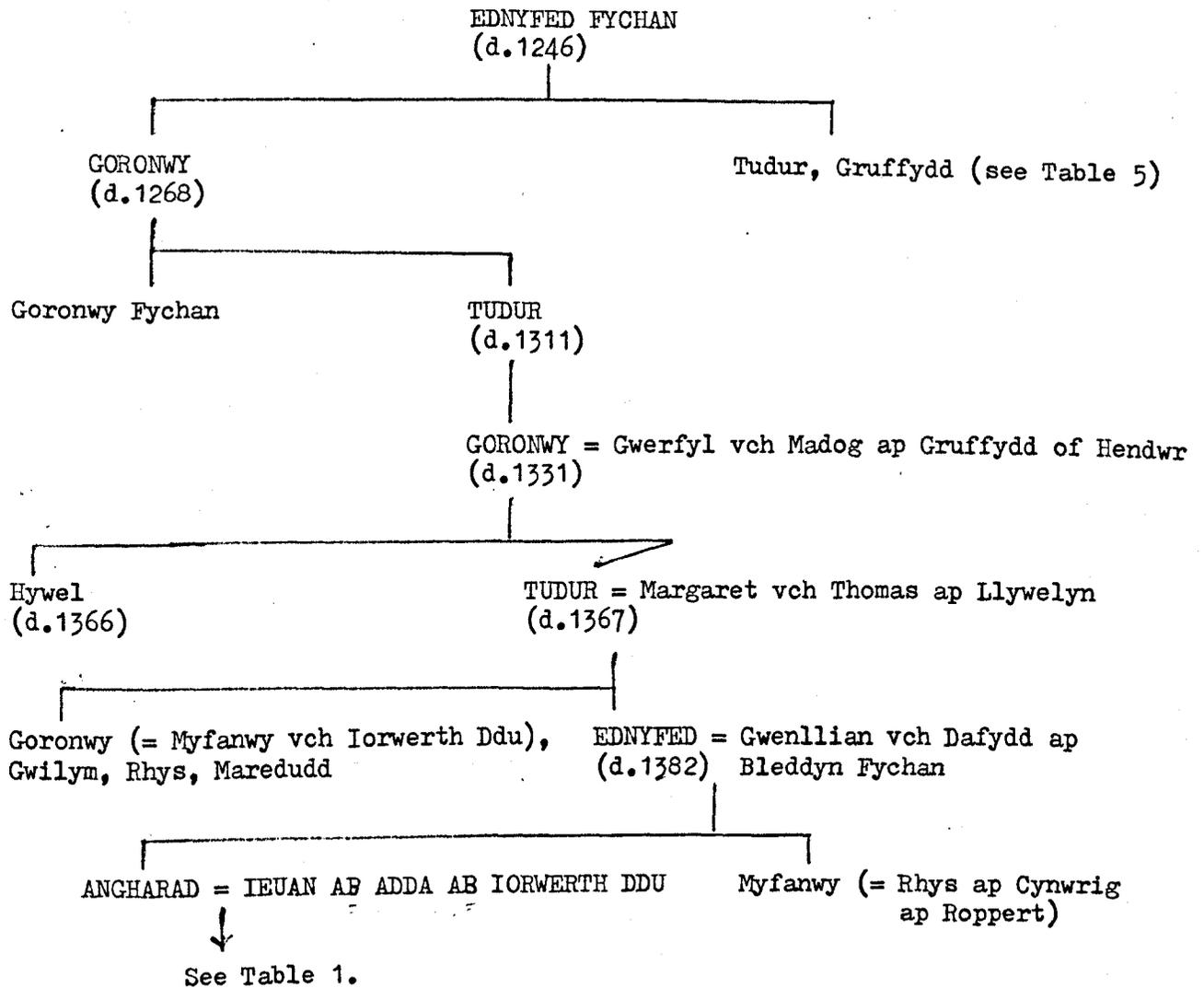
1. PENGWERN

Rhys Sais ab Ednyfed ap Llywarch Gam ap Lluddocaf ap Tudur Trefor



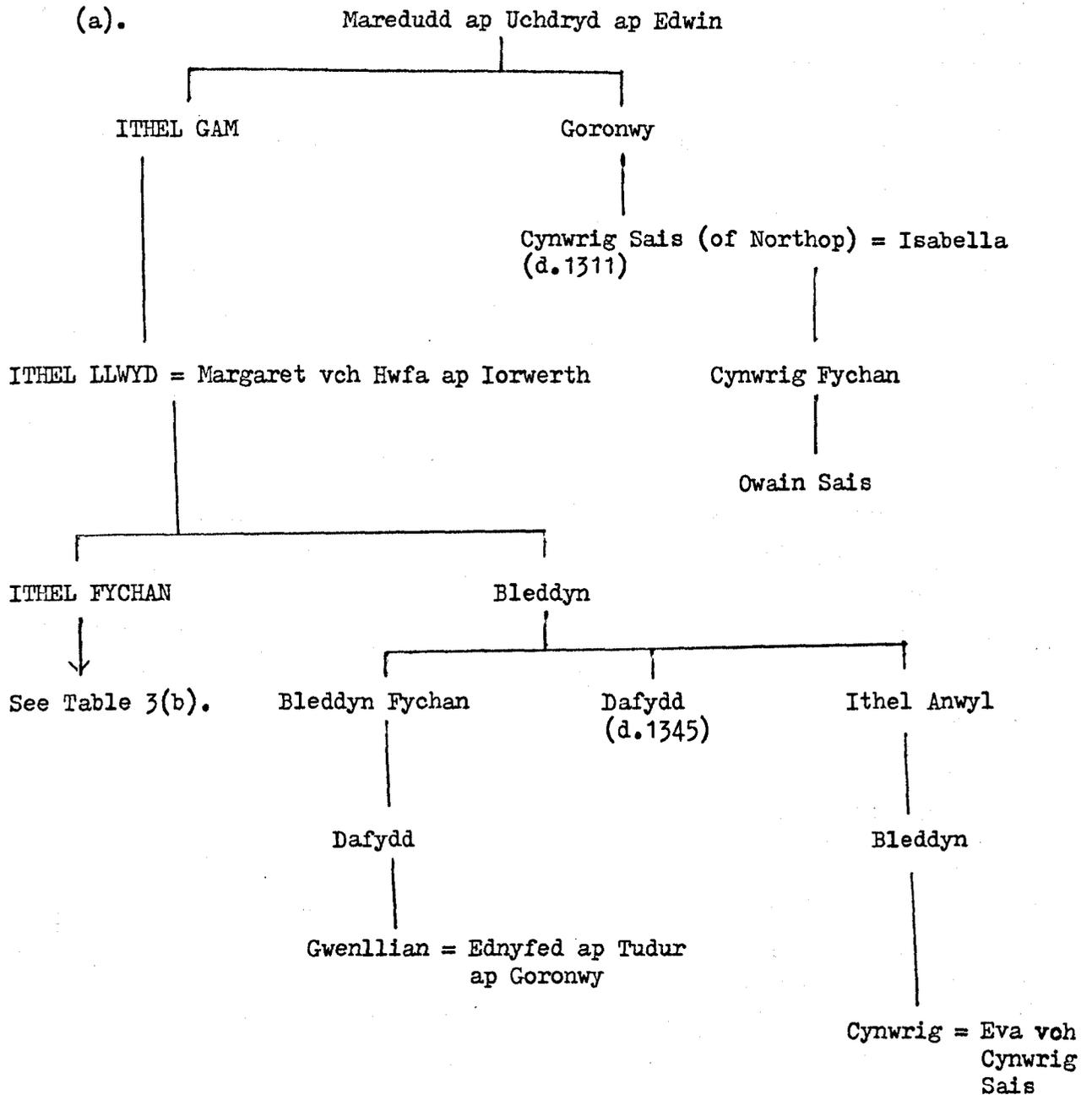
Mostyn of Mostyn = see Table 6.

2. TRECASTELL



3. MOSTYN

(a).



(b).

ITHEL FYCHAN

Ithel Person = Lleucu vch
(d.1341) Ieuan ap Madog

Dafydd

Rhys Wyn

Tudur

TUDUR

See Table 3(c).

Bleddyn

Dafydd

Cynwrig Sais = Margery

Angharad (= Hywel ap Gruffydd of Dinmael), Eva (= Cynwrig ap Bleddyn ap Ithel Anwyl), Lleucu (?) (= Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith)

Ithel = Christina

Alice = William de Rixton

Dafydd = Angharad vch Roppert ap Gruffydd

Sir Gregory Sais (?) = Ragonde Bechet

Ieuan

Cynwrig

Dafydd

Dafydd Whitmore

Bleddyn

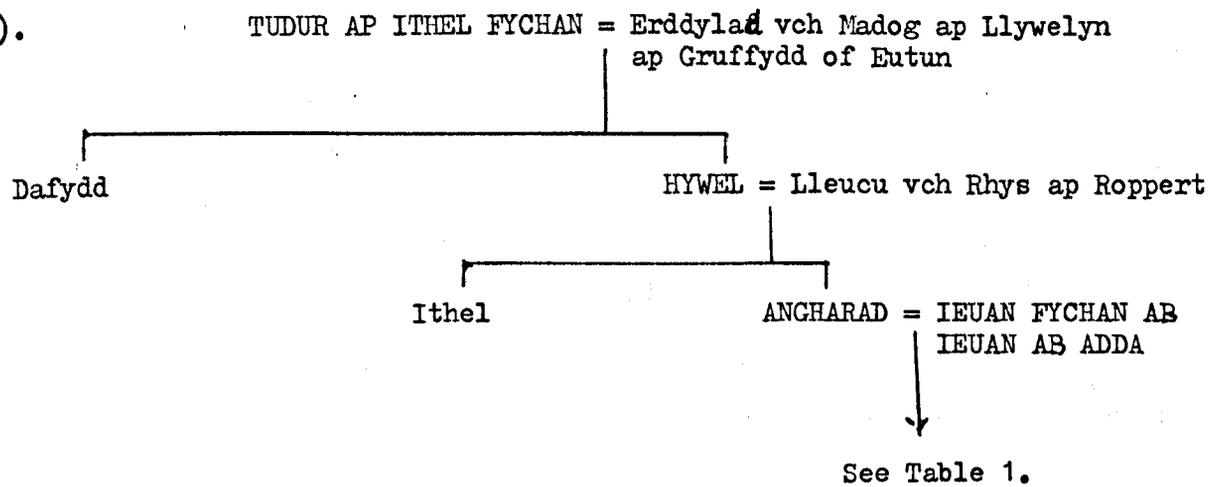
Llywelyn

Hywel

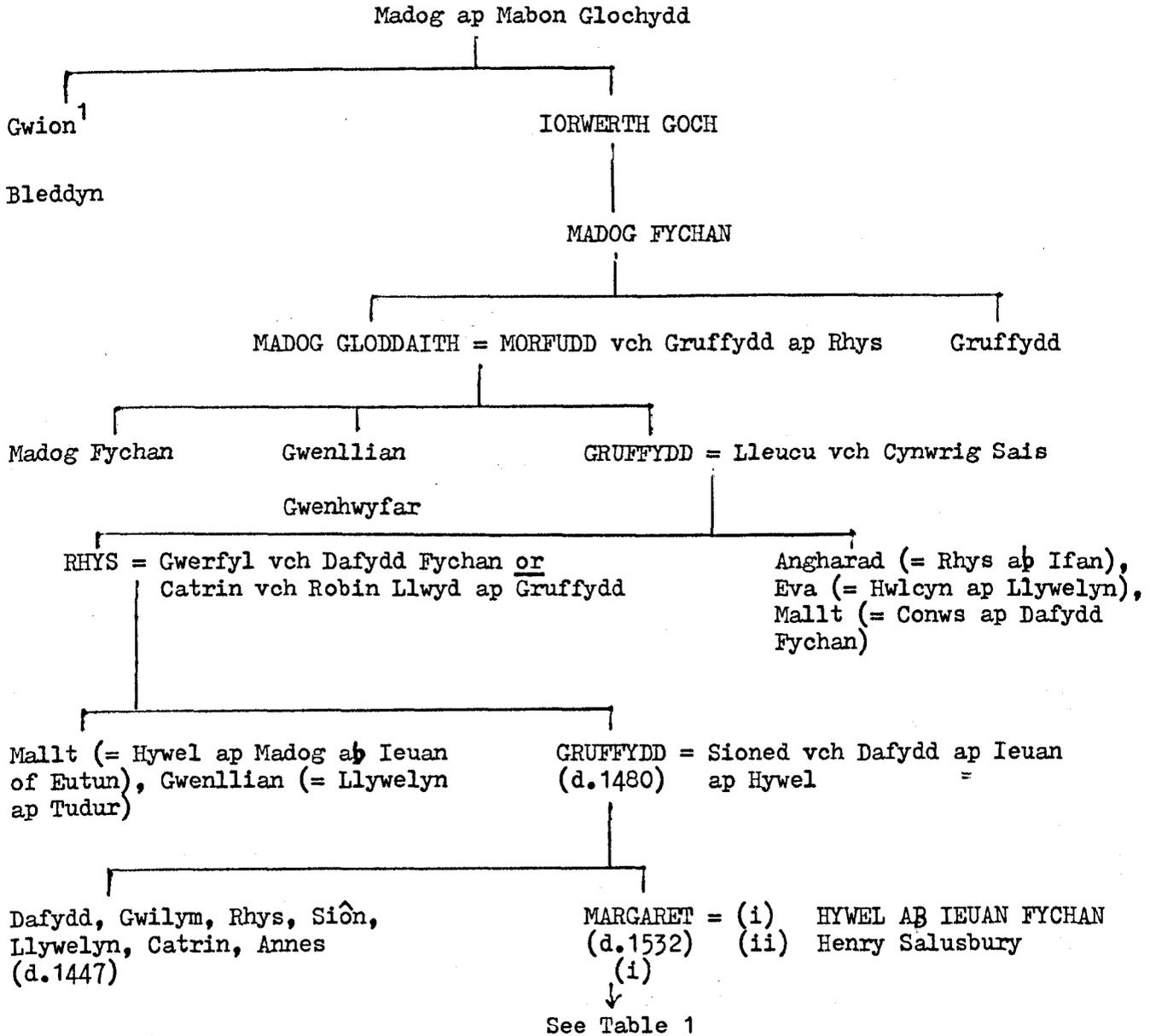
Maredudd

Gwenllian (= Madog ap Gruffydd Fychan), Ales (= Roppert ap Iorwerth)

(c).

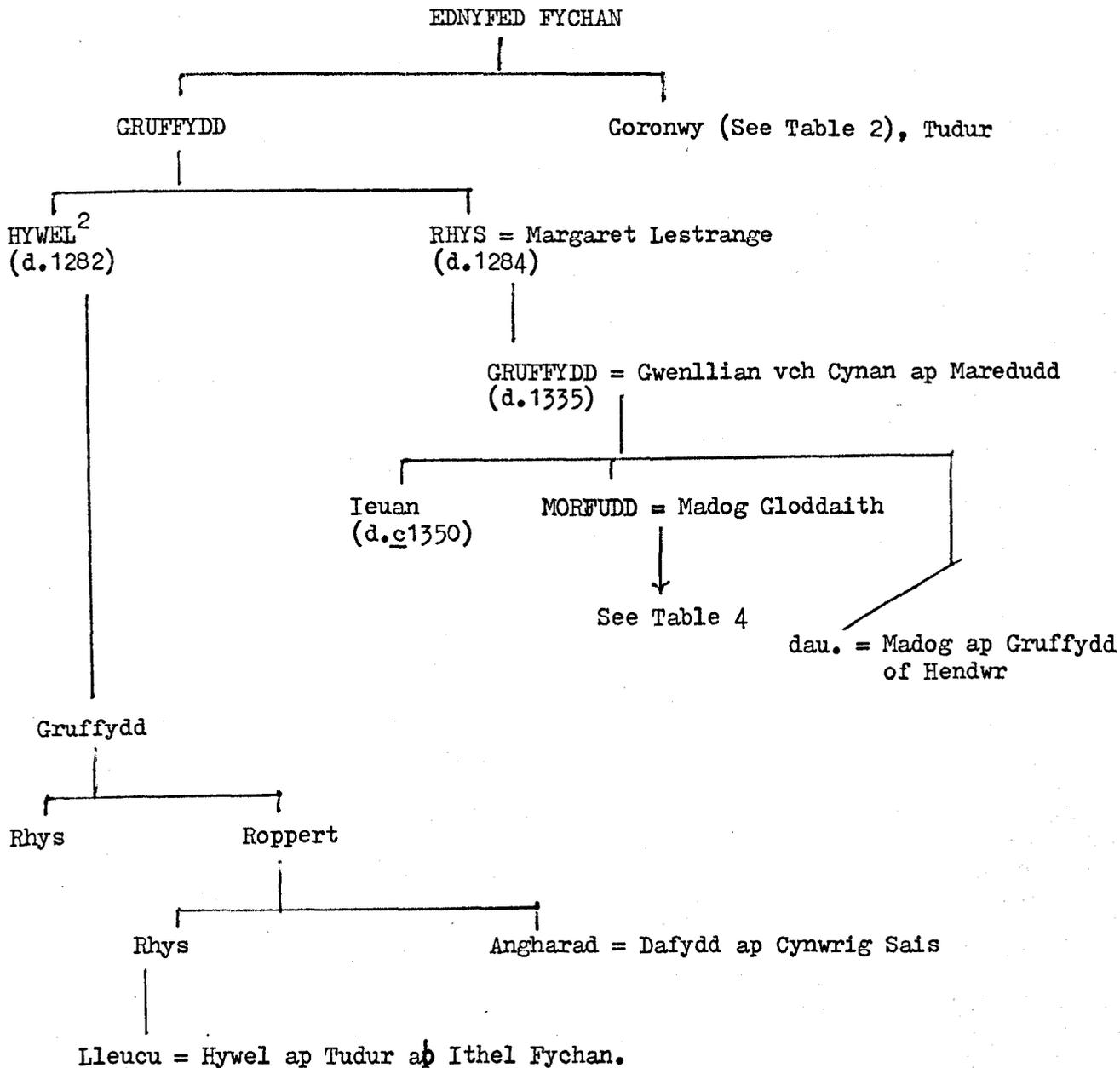


4. GLODDAITH



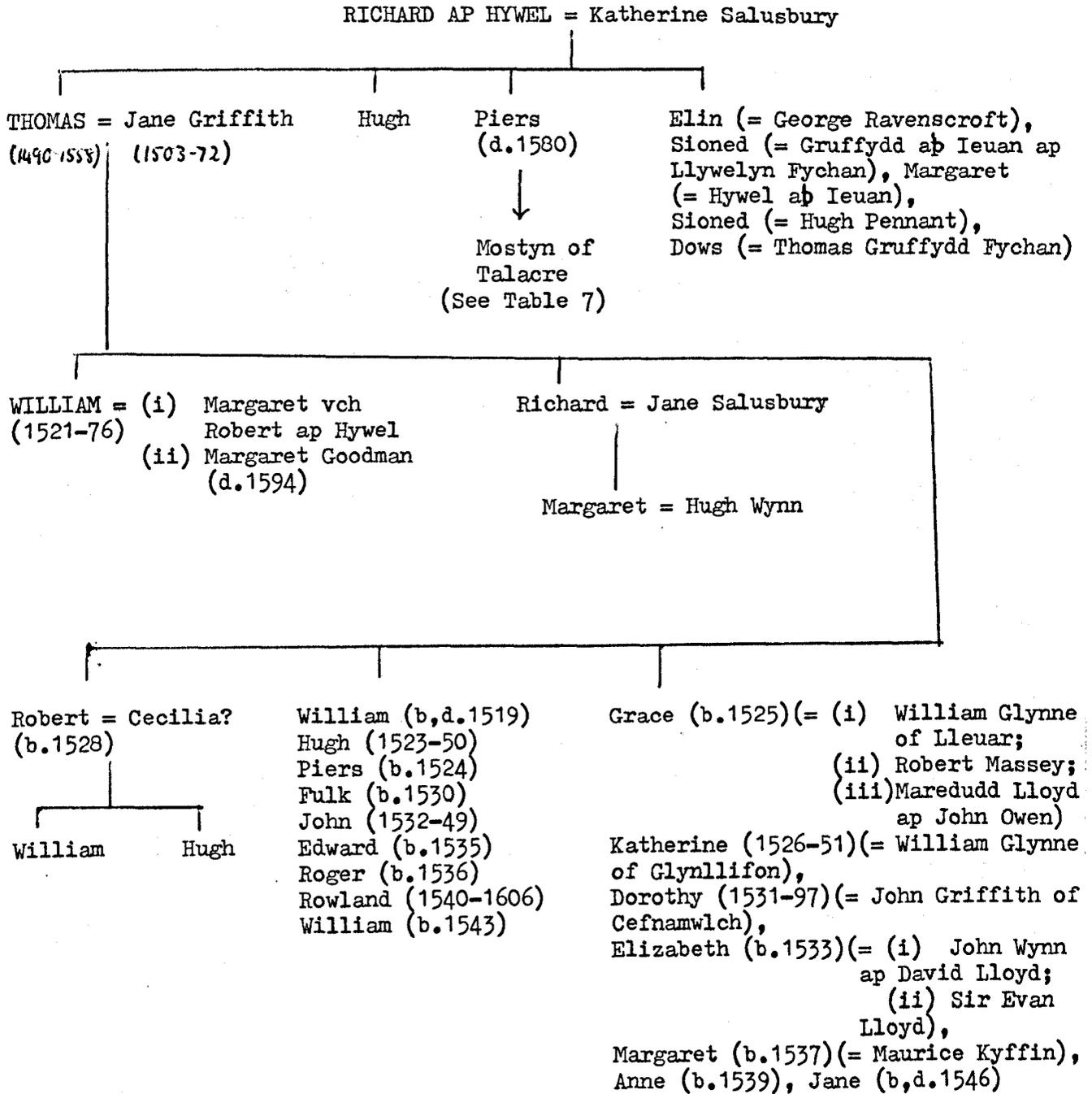
1. The descendants of Gwion and Bleddyn are set out in Chapter III.

5. TREGARNEDD

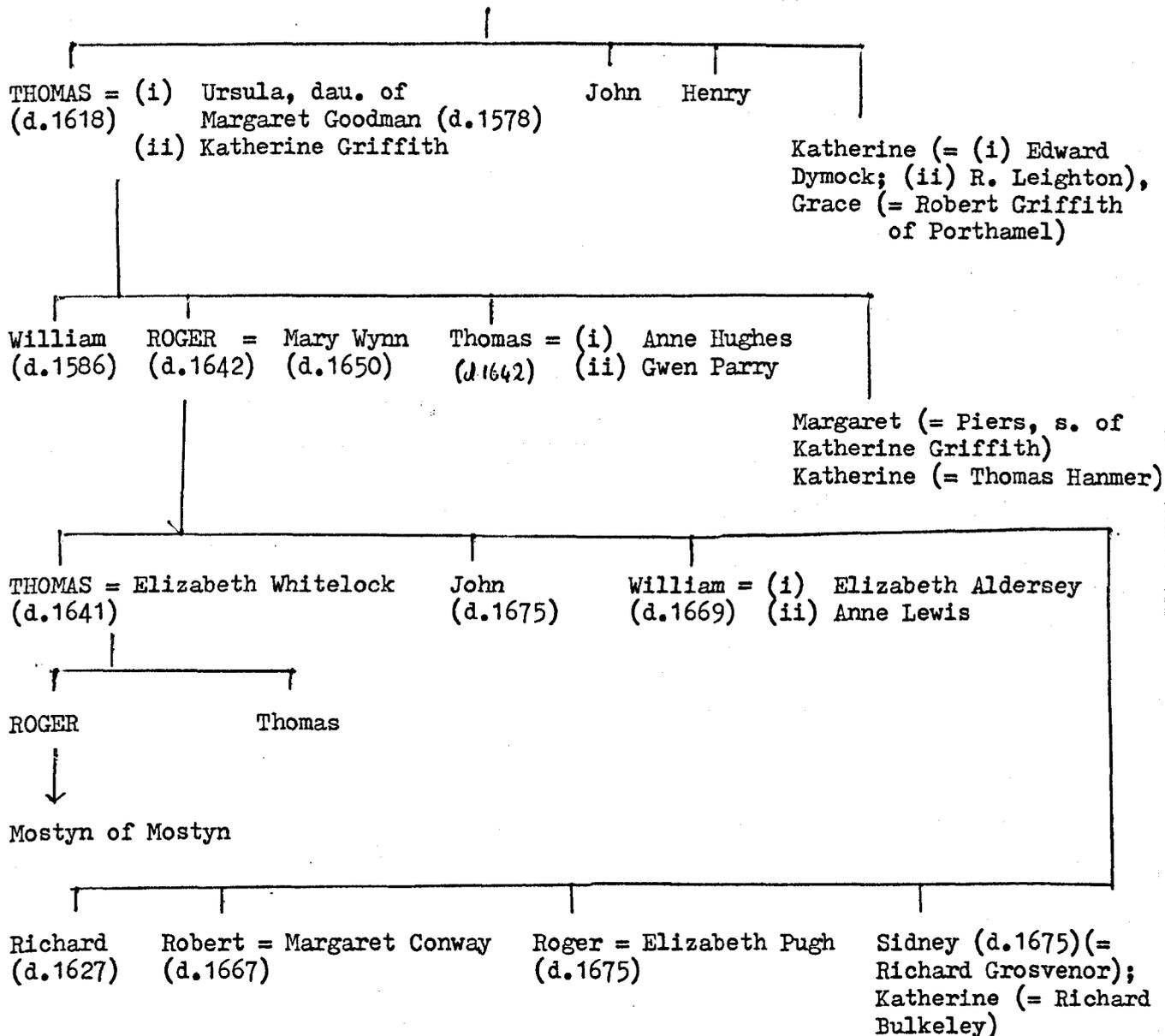


2. The list of descendants of Hywel ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed Fychan is not complete; only the descent of Rhys ap Roppert is shown.

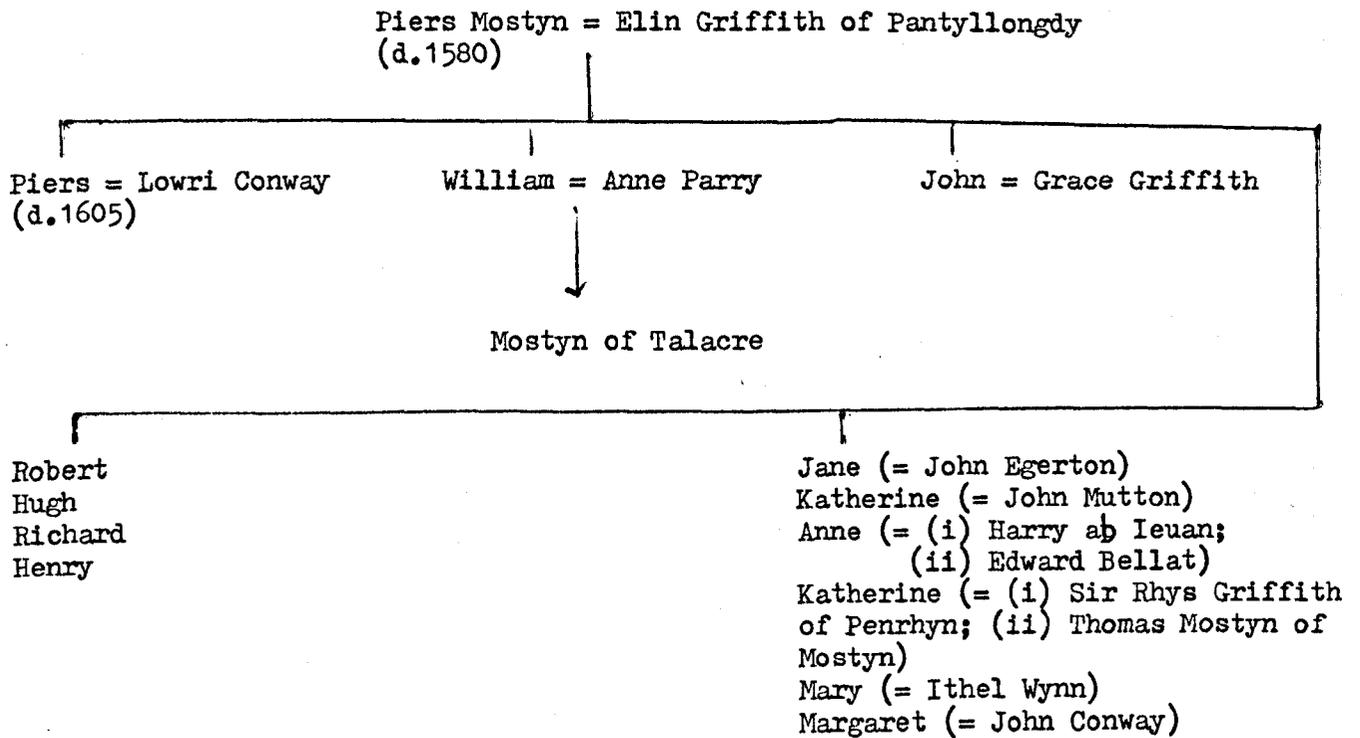
6. MOSTYN OF MOSTYN



(b). WILLIAM MOSTYN (all children by (i))



7. MOSTYN OF TALACRE



APPENDIX B

THE MANOR OF MOSTYN

THE MANOR OF MOSTYN

It was not until the seventeenth century that the Mostyns obtained outright possession of the manor of Mostyn itself although they had held it off and on since the late fourteenth century and continuously since the middle of the sixteenth under various crown leases. The earliest reference to Mostyn is in the Cheshire section of Domesday Book; at that time it formed part of the lands of Robert of Rhuddlan and comprised land for one plough populated by four villeins and eight bordars and worth 20 shillings annually.¹ With the rest of Tegeingl it had been reconquered and resettled by the Welsh during the twelfth century, changing hands with the rest of the cantref from time to time during the thirteenth.² The area came permanently under English rule after the war of 1277 and on 1 December, 1278, Mostyn was granted to Hywel ap Gruffydd ap Ednyfed Fychan, the great-grandfather of Rhys ap Ropert, sheriff of Flintshire in the mid-fourteenth century, for life;³ its annual value was by now estimated at £20 and Hywel was to enjoy the income up to that amount. Hywel was killed in 1282 and from that time on the township and manor of Mostyn remained in the possession of the earl of Chester, being generally granted or leased out. It was one of the townships in which lands were set aside for English settlers.⁴

On 21 August, 1295, the town of Mostyn was granted to Master James of St. George, better known as the master mason responsible for Edward I's castles in North Wales;⁵ this grant was again for life at an annual rent of three shillings. An extent made at this time stated that two-thirds of the township of Mostyn were held by the king as his own demesne, along with the lands of certain Welshmen who

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1. James Tait, 'Flintshire in Domesday Book' in Flints. Hist. Soc. Publications, XI (1925), p. 29.
 2. This is discussed briefly in Chapter II of this study.
 3. Cal. Chanc. R. Var., p. 177.
 4. C. R. Williams, History of Flintshire, pp. 92-3; the other townships were Prestatyn, Ewloe and Bacheograig, apart from the four English boroughs of Flint, Rhuddlan, Hope and Overton.
 5. C.F.R., 1272-1307, p. 357.

had died against the peace.⁶ There were 302½ acres of arable land valued at eightpence the acre and therefore worth a total of £10. 1s. 8d., and a new assart of ten acres 'in a certain moor' was worth half a mark, 230 acres of mountain land were worth 56s. 8d., and 206 acres of the king's share of the woods were worth two marks annually in pasture and pannage. The king had a mill worth sixpence a year and a sea-coal mine with a quarry was worth five shillings; this is the first reference to the coal measures.⁷ A fishery was worth ten shillings and turbarry half a mark. The rest of the township was held by 19 named Welsh tenants who paid an annual sum of 19s. 11d. by way of rent and porthiant cais (the payment for the maintenance of the serjeants of the peace). Pleas and perquisites of the courts and the escheats of English and Welsh tenants were valued at 40 shillings a year and various small customary payments at 40 pence. The total value was £25. 16s. 7d.

In May, 1309, the township of Mostyn was granted for life to Adam de Staney, king's yeoman, as a reward for his good service in Scotland but this grant may not have taken effect since on 2 November of the same year it was granted during the king's pleasure to William de Doncaster and his wife Felicia at an annual rent of £10. 10s. 1d.⁸ The following August a new grant was made to William, this time for life, at a rent of 20 marks.⁹ William of Doncaster was a prominent Chester merchant, shipowner, and army contractor and it was men like ~~him~~^{he} who controlled much of the economic life of North Wales at this time;¹⁰ he acquired land in Rhuddlan and Overton as well as in Mostyn and was mayor of Flint as well as of Chester. An inquisition into the extent of the manor, made on 14 February, 1309, apparently when the first grant to William was under consideration, found that there was there one plot for a capital messuage which had not been built of an annual value of sixpence.¹¹ 60 acres of demesne were valued at fourpence an

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6. N.L.W. Bettisfield 1489 (transcript of original in P.R.O.); Ithel Fychan was foreman of the jury.
 7. Coal-mining in medieval Flintshire is briefly discussed by William Rees, Industry Before the Industrial Revolution (1968), I, p. 35.
 8. C.P.R., 1307-1313, p. 116; C.F.R., 1307-1319, p. 52.
 9. C.F.R., 1307-1319, p. 70.
 10. For William of Doncaster see H. J. Hewitt, Medieval Cheshire: an economic and social history of Cheshire in the reigns of the three Edwards (1929), p. 130, and F.M.A., 1301-1328, pp. xliv-v.
 11. N.L.W. Bettisfield 730 (transcript of original in P.R.O.).

acre and 180 acres of barren mountain land at a penny an acre. An acre of meadow in the demesne was worth 12 pence and 80 acres of waste and mountain pasture were worth a total of half a mark. Half a mark was also the annual value of 60 acres of wood and waste where all the tenants had estovers and common of pasture and 20 acres of turbary were worth two pence the acre. A watermill was worth 20 shillings a year; there was no mention of the coal mine. Sixteen Welsh tenants held two gafaelion (this is the only reference to a Welsh unit of tenure in Mostyn) freely of the manor by fealty and service of 19s. 11d. yearly and by suit at the manor court and suit of mill and sixteen English tenants held a total of 280 acres by livery made to them immediately after the conquest, each acre being worth fourpence. Common of pasture on the moor was worth two shillings and the only damage which the king would suffer from the grant of Mostyn to William of Doncaster on the same terms as James of St. George (who had in fact conveyed his interest to William for his lifetime) would be the loss of ten shillings relief on the death of each Welsh tenant.

A further lease was granted to William de Doncaster in 1316 and he was still there in 1326-7.¹² In 1335 Mostyn was granted to William de Capenhurst and he was still paying 20 marks in 1350-1.¹³ In 1353 it was granted to William de Blorton and Thomas Fitz Walter for three years at an annual farm of 21 marks and this grant was renewed for a further four years in 1356;¹⁴ in 1360-1 William de Blorton and Simon de Ashwell were paying £14. 13s. 4d. or 22 marks and in 1371-2 Blorton was farming it on his own at £15. 6s. 8d.¹⁵ The farmer in 1376-7 was Walter atte Milne who was paying £8. 13s. 4d. and he was still there in 1385-6.¹⁶ The shape of things to come was seen for the first time on 25 March, 1387, when Hywel ap Tudur ap Ithel Fychan and John de Helegh were granted the farm of the stewardship of the manor, for which they paid 10 marks each annually;¹⁷ this was

12. C.R.R. I, p. 353; F.M.A., 1301-1328, p. 91.

13. C.R.R. I, p. 353; P.R.O. S.C.6/1186/5.

14. C.R.R. I, p. 353.

15. P.R.O. S.C.6/1186/20, 1187/14; according to C.R.R. I, p. 353, Ashwell was farming it alone from 1360 to 1364.

16. P.R.O. S.C.6/1188/3, 1189/1; C.R.R. I, p. 353, mentions a grant to him in 1386 in lieu of an annuity.

17. C.R.R. I, p. 353; P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/3.

the first time since the conquest that Mostyn came into the hands of the family who already held extensive lands in the area.¹⁸ On 2 October, 1388, the farm was granted to Hywel and Sir Gregory Sais at 22 marks and the grant was renewed for ten years in 1390;¹⁹ Hywel was farming it on his own in 1390-1 after Sir Gregory's death in the former year but on 8 July, 1391, it was granted to the king's surgeon John Leche for life, and the grant was renewed in 1400.²⁰

The Glyn Dŵr revolt must have put an end to any enjoyment of the manor for a time but in 1409-10 it was farmed by Jankyn ap Dafydd ap Iorwerth for four years at an annual rent of 20 marks;²¹ the grant to him included the pleas and perquisites of the court, all the other profits of the manor, and the coal mines. He was succeeded by Hywel's son Ithel, granted Mostyn at the same farm for four years from 1410 but who was still there in 1415-6;²² his grant reserved the profits of the coal mines to the crown but allowed him to have a reasonable amount for his own domestic use. After Ithel came John Hokes who was there on the same terms until 1419-20 when it was granted to Roger Draycote for life at a token rent of sixpence;²³ Draycote was dead by the following year when it was held by Edward Stanley to the use of John Chetwynd at the same rent.²⁴ In 1423 Mostyn was among the lands granted to Henry V's widow Katherine of Valois for her maintenance;²⁵ it was during her tenure of it that it returned to the custody of the family in the person of Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan ap Adda. On 14 December, 1432, the town of Mostyn was leased by Katherine to Ieuan Fychan (whose mother was Owen Tudor's first cousin) for 20 years at an annual rent of £14;²⁶ by 1436-7 he was holding it under a new grant for 12 years from Michaelmas, 1436, and on 26 March,

18. The acquisition of these lands is discussed in Chapter II.

19. C.R.R. I, pp. 353, 261. For Sir Gregory Sais see Chapter II above.

20. P.R.O. S.C.6/1189/7; C.P.R. 1388-1392, p. 456; C.P.R. 1399-1401, p. 203.

21. C.R.R. I, p. 266; P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/7.

22. P.R.O. S.C.6/1191/11; 1192/1.

23. P.R.O. S.C.6/1192/3, 8.

24. P.R.O. S.C.6/1192/10.

25. C.R.R. II, p. 418.

26. Ibid., p. 553,

1437, he was appointed steward of the town of Mostyn during the king's pleasure.²⁷ A further lease for 12 years at 20 marks a year was granted him on 16 October, 1442, and he was still farmer of Mostyn in 1453 when he was described as such in a recognisance.²⁸

In October, 1454, both town and lordship were leased to Ieuan Fychan's son Elis for five years at an annual rent of £10 and this was followed in 1457 by a grant to John Conway for three years at £10. 0s. 4d.²⁹ William Stanley of Hooton was holding it in 1462-3 under a grant of Michaelmas, 1461, at £10 and the next recorded farmer was Robert del Wodde who, in 1471, was granted it for seven years at £14 a year.³⁰ However, he does not appear to have been there for very long since in 1475-6 it was being farmed by Henry Salusbury, the second husband of Margaret ferch Gruffydd ap Rhys of Gloddaith and consequently the step-father of Richard ap Hywel, at £10. 0s. 4d.³¹ He obtained further grants of the lordship for one year at £3. 6s. 8d. in 1484 and of the township for 20 years at 8 marks in 1489 and seems to have held it until his death.³² On 21 July, 1501, Mostyn was leased to Richard ap Hywel for 15 years at the former rent of 8 marks and an entry fine of £26. 0s. 8d. and from this time on it was held continuously by the Mostyn family.³³ Richard obtained a new lease for seven years at £6. 16s. 8d. in 1519 and this was followed in October, 1525, by the one for 21 years at £7 which was in force at the time of his death and which he left in his will to his heir Thomas.³⁴ The reversion of this lease was granted in November, 1539, at the same rent to Roger Colley, groom of Prince Edward's privy chamber, for 21 years from Michaelmas, 1546;³⁵ it seems to have found its way into the possession of William Mostyn and in 1557 he surrendered it

27. P.R.O. S.C.6/1193/11; Chetwynd's rights were reserved; C.R.R. II, p. 19.

28. C.R.R. II, p. 19.

29. Ibid., p. 554.

30. P.R.O. S.C.6/1198/1; C.R.R. II, p. 554.

31. P.R.O. S.C.6/1200/2.

32. C.R.R. II, p. 554.

33. Ibid., p. 555.

34. C.R.R. III, p. 151; N.L.W. Peniarth 405, p. 218; Clwyd R.O., D/MT/618.

35. L. & P. Hen.VIII, XIV (2)(1539), p. 225.

in exchange for a new one for 30 years at a rent of £7 and an entry fine of £26. 13s. 4d.³⁶ This was replaced in its turn by a lease for three lives granted to Thomas Mostyn and his sons Roger and Thomas in 1584 for the usual rent and a fine of £21 and the last lease of Mostyn granted by the crown was the reversion of this granted to Roger for 31 years in 1594.³⁷

The lease of the manor was mentioned in two Exchequer actions in 1603-4 and 1604-5.³⁸ The first was brought by Sir John Egerton against Sir Thomas and his heir Roger and he claimed in his bill that the crown lease did not include the coal measures. He also maintained that the defendants had encroached on the commons, that they had bought out freeholders whose lands were scattered among those of the crown, that they had taken out a lease in reversion to conceal their encroachments, that they had removed the boundary marks between their own land and the king's, and that they had raised coals on the king's waste which they claimed as their own. They denied all these allegations, declaring that their own lands were entirely distinct from those of the crown and that the boundaries were clearly marked. In the second action, brought by Roger against Egerton, Piers Mostyn of Talacre and others, the plaintiff claimed that the crown lease included the coal measures. The survey of the estate made in 1618 listed some lands as comprising the manor of Mostyn but since the Caernarvonshire section referred to others as comprising the manor of Gloddaith the term was probably used for the respective demesnes.³⁹

The last chapter in the story of the Mostyn lease of the eponymous manor began in 1614 when £2,000 worth of crown rents came on the market.⁴⁰ Mostyn was bought by Richard Wynn of Gwydir, Sir John's son, at 53 years' purchase, against the rival bid of one Merry, Clerk of the Kitchen, who was apparently

36. C.P.R., 1557-1558, p. 19.

37. Calendar of Augmentations Records, p. 403; Cal. S.P. Dom., 1591-1594, p. 555.

38. P.R.O. E112/149(Flintshire)/35, 33; the actions are discussed in Chapter VIII of this study.

39. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6477.

40. The acquisition of the manor is described in Chapter V of this study.

acting for someone else. According to family tradition Sir John Wynn had promised to buy the lordship for Roger Mostyn as a wedding present, but it was still in his possession when he died; it was conveyed to Sir Roger by Sir Richard Wynn in 1631.⁴¹ By this time, of course, the manor meant no more than mineral rights and quit-rents; the gradual fall in the farm between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth indicates its diminishing value and it may well be that Sir Roger's predecessors did not regard its purchase as being worth the trouble and expense involved, as long as they could have the lease. Sir Roger, however, seems to have been determined to gain possession of everything relating to his estate. The manor is not well documented; there are no manorial records for the period of this study and the only other reference is a twnc rental and a list of rents due to the lord along with a list of freeholders drawn up at some time between 1540 and 1558.⁴² But with the increasing importance of the coal trade and its contribution to the family's prosperity it was probably worth Sir Roger's while to ensure that the manor came into his undisputed possession.

41. Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 181-2.

42. U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6243.

APPENDIX C

A NOTE ON THE MOSTYN ARCHIVES

From the point of view of the archivist the Mostyn archives are not in an entirely satisfactory state; they form an archive group which may be said to have lost its sanctity since it is scattered among several repositories. The large collection of Welsh literary manuscripts does not really come under this heading; the bulk of these were purchased by Mr. Cecil A. Wright and presented by him to the National Library of Wales in 1918.¹ The family muniments, however, were the last important North Wales collection to find their way into a record repository; a large section was deposited in the then Flintshire Record Office after its establishment but remained uncatalogued until recently when it was joined there by a group of Mostyn papers received through the Historical Manuscripts Commission.² In 1962 the remainder of the documents at Mostyn were deposited by the late Lord Mostyn in the Library of the University College of North Wales, Bangor, to be followed by a further deposit in 1970.³ There is also a group of documents in the National Library of Wales; this is the Thorne collection, deposited by Mr. B. L. Thorne of Westminster, which relates to the Gloddaith estate.⁴ Finally, there is a considerable amount of nineteenth century and later material still in the Mostyn estate office in Llandudno; unfortunately a quantity of the records held there were destroyed some ten years ago.⁵

The largest part of the archive is that at Bangor which comprises some literary manuscripts, a large quantity of deeds from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries relating to the Mostyn lands in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Cheshire as well as to other estates acquired by

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1. The Mostyn manuscripts were listed by J. Gwenogvryn Evans in H.M.C. Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, I, 1 (Mostyn), (1898).
 2. Clwyd Record Office, Schedule of Mostyn of Mostyn papers (2 volumes, 1974).
 3. U.C.N.W. Library, Catalogue of (Bangor) Mostyn MSS. (7 volumes, 1967-72).
 4. N.L.W. Schedule of Thorne Deeds and Documents (1957).
 5. Letter from Mr. G. E. D. Hiller, F.R.I.C.S., Chief Agent, Mostyn Estates Ltd., 4 April, 1975; these documents have now been deposited at Hawarden.

marriage, the chief among these being the Corsygedol estate in Caernarvonshire and Merioneth. The deeds include the important group discussed in the second chapter of this study which illustrate Tudur ap Ithel Fychan's acquisition of property in and around Whitford in the fourteenth century. There are also a number of rentals and surveys and other estate documents from the early seventeenth century onwards, several groups of correspondence from 1660, including a group of letters from Lewis Morris to William Vaughan of Corsygedol, and a magnificent collection of late seventeenth-century newsletters. The documents at Hawarden are mainly deeds of properties in Flintshire and Cheshire, many of them being early ones of land subsequently acquired by the Mostyns; there are also a number of wills, including those of William, Sir Thomas, and Sir Roger Mostyn (the will of Richard ap Hywel is among the Mostyn of Talacre papers, also at Hawarden) and some eighteenth-century accounts.⁶ The Thorne documents consist almost entirely of deeds, although there are also a few papers relating to the lease of the manor of Gogarth; the Mostyn manuscripts in the National Library include some late seventeenth-century correspondence, a calendar of which has been published.⁷

By far the greater part of the material covering the period of this study is at Bangor, although the Thorne deeds are also useful. There are, however, a number of gaps which are mentioned from time to time in the preceding pages. There are no accounts, either household or estate, to speak of before 1642; nor is there any correspondence before 1660. The estate material consists entirely of deeds, rentals, and surveys; there are no lease registers of the kind found among the records of many contemporary English estates which make possible the study of leasing policy in detail. There is nothing about the coal and lead-

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6. For the Mostyn of Talacre documents see Clwyd R.O., Schedule of Mostyn of Talacre and Mostyn of Talacre (Additional) papers (2 volumes, 1958, 1971).
 7. B. E. Howells, ed., A Calendar of Letters relating to North Wales, 1533-c 1700 (1967).

mining interests of the Mostyns, despite their importance. All this means that a comprehensive study of the Mostyns and their estates down to 1642 is impossible, but at the same time no accumulation of family papers is without its lacunae and the Mostyn muniments in their various places of deposit comprise one of if not the largest collections in North Wales and are of paramount importance to the historian. Obviously no study can depend on family papers alone and the other sources used, especially in the Public Record Office and the National Library of Wales, are listed in the Bibliography.

APPENDIX D

POETRY ADDRESSED TO THE MOSTYN FAMILY

POETRY ADDRESSED TO THE MOSTYN FAMILY

The list which follows comprises the various poems addressed to successive heads of the Mostyn family and its component lines; for a complete list of all the poetry to members of the main line and the various branches see R. Alun Charles, 'Noddwyr y beirdd yn sir y Fflint' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1967), pp. 192-7.

1. Sir Gruffydd Llwyd (Tregarnedd)

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|--|--|---|
| 'Neud cynnechrau Mai mau anrhydedd ...' | Gwilym Ddu o Arfon
(<u>Myvyrian Archaialogy</u> ,
p. 275) | A |
| 'Rhen trindawd a rawd eirf ynghystudd ...' | Gwilym Ddu o Arfon
(<u>Myvyrian Archaialogy</u> ,
p. 276) | A |

2. Ednyfed ap Tudur ap Goronwy (Trecastell) and brothers

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|-----|
| 'Mynd yr wyf i dir Môn draw ...' | Iolo Goch
(<u>Iolo Goch ac Eraill</u> ,
p. 15) | CM |
| 'Llyma lle diffaith weithion ...' | Iolo Goch
(<u>Iolo Goch ac Eraill</u> ,
p. 18) | CMA |

3. Ieuan Fychan ab Ieuan ab Adda

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-----|
| 'Sain Cristoffr a fu'n offrwm ...' | Guto'r Glyn
(<u>Gwaith Guto'r Glyn</u> ,
p. 73) | CC |
| 'Mawr yw dy wrthiau'r awron ...' | Gruffydd Nannau
(N.L.W. Mostyn 146,
p. 500) | CMA |
| 'Duw a roes nid oedd resyn ...' | Rhys Goch Glyndyfrdwy
(N.L.W. Mostyn 146,
p. 498) | CMA |
| 'Meddyllo i ddwyf o'm nwyfaint ...' | Ieuan Fychan
(U.C.N.W. Gwyneddon 3,
p. 131b) | CY |
| 'Ystod hir wastad hoywrym ...' | Maredudd ap Rhys
(U.C.N.W. Gwyneddon 3,
p. 133a) | CY |
| 'Dihareb gwir o hirynt ...' | Ieuan Fychan
(N.L.W. Mostyn 148,
p. 269) | CY |

The last three poems along with seven englynion, five of which are by Ieuan Fychan and two by Maredudd ap Rhys (R. Alun Charles, Op. cit., p. 162)

make up the ymryson between the two poets.

4. Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith

'Sorri Dduw bensaer yddwyd ...' Robin Ddu ap Siencyn CMa
(R. Williams, History of
Aberconway, p. 128)

'Duw a rôl ryw dro i'r iaith ...' Tudur Aled CMa
(Gwaith Tudur Aled,
p. 340)

5. Margaret ferch Gruffydd ap Rhys

'Mewn un llys mwy no'n holl iaith ...' Tudur Aled CM
(Gwaith Tudur Aled,
p. 166)

'Y llys fry yn llawes i fron ...' Lewys Môn CM
(E. I. Rowlands, 'Bywyd
a gwaith Lewys Môn',
p. 291)

6. Henry Salusbury

'Y tŷ gwyn fal Tegannwy ...' Lewys Môn CM
(E. I. Rowlands, Op. cit.,
p. 287)

7. Katherine Salusbury, wife of Richard ap Hywel

'Y lloer weddw a'i llawroddion ...' Gruffudd Hiraethog CG
(Cardiff MS. 84, p. 378)

(This is a cywydd gofyn on behalf of Katherine to her kinswoman Grace Thomas of Anglesey asking for a gift of millstones).

8. Thomas Mostyn (d.1558)

'Ffyniant urddoniant ar ddynion - i chwi...' Gruffudd Hiraethog AF
(N.L.W. Mostyn 148,
p. 731)

'Mastr Tomas dewr at ymwan ...' Gruffudd Hiraethog CG
(Cardiff MS. 84,
p. 304)

'Tri chawr Rodri mawr a'i dir - maith ...' Lewys Morgannwg AF
(N.L.W. Mostyn 96,
p. 337)

'Cuhelyn ddewrwyn a'i ddart - coed
eurnerth ...' Siôn Brwynog AF
(Rose Marie Kerr,
'Cywyddau Siôn Brwynog',
p. 153)

'Rhodri mawleni Molwyn - og inni ...' Siôn Brwynog AFa
(Ibid., p. 157)

'Tomas mor difas mawr dyfiad - drwy ras ...'	Simwnt Fychan (N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 334)	AF
'Y gaer faen a garaf fi ...'	Simwnt Fychan (N.L.W. 16, p. 36)	CM
'Beirdd gyngyd berwddig angerdd ...'	Simwnt Fychan (N.L.W. 16, p. 38)	CM
'Mis a wnaeth i'm eisiau'n ôl ...'	Simwnt Fychan (Cardiff MS. 64, p. 396, printed in Mostyn & Glenn, pp. 86-9).	CMa
'Hwyliaw ar waith heliwr wyf ...'	Lewis ab Edward (N.L.W. Peniarth 86, p. 84)	CM
'Darfu pob gallu ar golled - mae'r byd ...'	William Llŷn (<u>Barddoniaeth William Llyn</u> , p. 148)	AFa
'Bwriwyd un briwyd ynys ...'	Siôn Tudur (U.C.N.W. Bangor 11678, p. 16)	CMa

Gruffudd Hiraethog and Simwnt Fychan also composed several englynion to Thomas and to Gloddaith and the gardens there (R. Alun Charles in Llen Cymru IX (1966), p. 84).

9. Jane Mostyn

'Un gair mwyn gore i'm oes ...'	Gruffudd Hiraethog (N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 303)	CG
'Yr Ustus holl ras Duw sydd ...'	Gruffudd Hiraethog (N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 304)	CG

These two poems are both cywyddau gofyn composed on Jane's behalf, the first asking Dr. Elis Price for the gift of a table and the second asking his brother Cadwaladr of Rhiwlas in Penllyn for a ram.

'Anwadal yw anwydau ...'	William Llŷn (N.L.W. Peniarth 124, p. 319)	CMa
'Hyd neuoedd mae bloedd awr yw blwyddyn - fan ...'	William Cynwal (N.L.W. Mostyn 145, p. 158).	AFa

10. William Mostyn

- | | | |
|---|--|-----|
| 'Mawr wylwn fal mor heli ...' | Simwnt Fychan
(N.L.W. Mostyn 145,
p. 426) | CMA |
| 'Cwyn am wr cenym orig ...' | Lewis ap Hywel
(N.L.W. Mostyn 145,
p. 428) | CMA |
| 'Y da anfono Duw'n fynych ...' | William Llŷn
(<u>Barddoniaeth William
Llŷn</u> , p. 234) | CMA |
| 'Llaw gref Duw o nef anafodd - Cymru ...' | William Cynwal
(N.L.W. Mostyn 145,
p. 169) | AFa |
| 'Bid o fewn byd a fyno ...' | Siôn Tudur
(U.C.N.W. Bangor 11668,
no. 11) | CMA |
| 'Blin yw dan blaned wenwyn ...' | Siôn Tudur
(U.C.N.W. Bangor 11678,
p. 19) | CMA |

(The englynion composed by William, Sir Rhys Griffith and Simon Thelwall are in R. Alun Charles, 'Noddwyr y beirdd yn sir y Fflint', pp. 26-8).

11. Margaret Mostyn, wife of William

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|-----|
| 'Duw hael trist yw i lid draw ...' | Simwnt Fychan
(U.C.N.W. (Bangor)
Mostyn 1, f. 34a) | CMA |
| 'O Dduw trymed yw tramwy ...' | Siôn Tudur
(N.L.W. Brogyntyn 3,
p. 288) | CMA |

12. Sir Thomas Mostyn

- | | | |
|---|---|----|
| 'Pwy'n holl Gymru'n rhannu'n rhwydd ...' | William Cynwal
(N.L.W. Llanstephan 125,
p. 305) | CM |
| 'Hir einioes dwyoes blodeuyn - ym wyd ...' | Siôn Tudur
(U.C.N.W. (Bangor)
Mostyn 12, f. 9a) | AF |
| 'Y marchog glan mawr yw'ch glôd ...' | Siôn Tudur
(N.L.W. Mostyn 96,
p. 301) | CM |
| 'Graddol waed urddol dewrddyn - at ymwan ...' | Huw Machno
(Dan Lynn James, 'Bywyd
a gwaith Huw Machno',
no. XIV, p. 30) | AF |
| 'Syr Thomas guras Gei Warwic - Mostyn ...' | Siôn Mawddwy
(U.C.N.W. (Bangor)
Mostyn 12, f. 6b) | AF |

'Y marchog gwych mawr yw'ch cad ...'	Owain Gwynedd (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 12, f. 12a)	CM
'Y llowydd mawr galluog ...'	Huw Roberts (N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 306)	CG
'Marchog wyf arfog derfel - marchogion ...'	Rhys Cain (N.L.W. Mostyn 96, p. 318)	AF
13. <u>Ursula Mostyn, first wife of Sir Thomas</u>		
'Blaenedau trwbwl annedwydd ...'	William Cynwal (N.L.W. Mostyn 111, f. 257a)	CMa
14. <u>Katherine Mostyn, second wife of Sir Thomas</u>		
'Trawodd byth lle trodd y bâr ...'	Siôn Cain (N.L.W. Peniarth 117, p. 51)	CMa
15. <u>Sir Roger Mostyn</u>		
The following poems were composed for the wedding of Roger Mostyn and Mary Wynn in 1596:		
'Yngwedir oes hir i Masdr Siôn Gwynn - bid ...'	Huw Pennant (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 3a)	AF
'Beth orau obaith araul ...'	Richard Philip (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 7a)	CM
'Y wledd enwog lwyddiannus ...'	Edward ap Ralph (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 10a)	CM
'Dyma'r dydd da mawr diddan ...'	Siôn Philip (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 13b)	CM
'Duw gwyn heb pall deg enw pur ...'	Huw Machno (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 17a)	CM
'Y beirdd heirdd bwraidd hirddawn ...'	Siôn Mawddwy (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 20b)	CM
'Awn i'r wledd wen ar lwyddiant ...'	Gruffydd Hafren (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 27a)	CM
'Neithior deg a wnaeth air da ...'	Simwnt Fychan (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 22a)	CM

'Neithior sydd i wneuthur sôn ...'	Owain Gwynedd (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 1, f. 30a)	CM
'Cwlm a roed er cloi a mawr rās ...'	Siôn Tudur (U.C.N.W. Bangor 11668, no. 14)	CM
Other poems:		
'Y mae ustus ym Mostyn ...'	Siôn Cain (N.L.W. Peniarth 116, p. 97)	CM
'Y marchog calonog glan ...'	Siôn Cain (N.L.W. Peniarth 117, p. 211)	CM
'Hir noethai Crist trist i trodd ...'	Siôn Cain (N.L.W. Peniarth 116, p. 797)	CMA

Abbreviations:

AF	=	<u>Awdl foliant</u>
AFa	=	<u>Awdl farwnad</u>
CC	=	<u>Cywydd cymod</u>
CG	=	<u>Cywydd gofyn</u>
CM	=	<u>Cywydd moliant</u>
CMA	=	<u>Cywydd marwnad</u>
CY	=	<u>Cywydd ymryson</u>

APPENDIX E

SELECT DOCUMENTS

1. Marriage settlement of Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel and Jane Griffith, 1517 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 91)
2. Will of Thomas Mostyn, 25 August, 1558 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 96)
3. Will of William Mostyn, 20 February, 1566/7 (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3724)
4. Will of Margaret Mostyn, 5 October, 1592 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 107)
5. Will of Sir Thomas Mostyn, 10 December, 1617 (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3734)
6. Will of Sir Roger Mostyn, 3 November, 1640 (Clwyd R.O., D/M/3737)
7. Valuation of Sir Roger Mostyn's estate, c 1619 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6056)
8. Letter from Sir Roger to Sir John Wynn, 5 January, 1623/4 (N.L.W., N.L.W. MS. 9059/1186)
9. Letter from Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir James Whitelock, 17 January, 1619/20 (U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 7294)
10. Bulstrode Whitelocke's account of his visit to Mostyn, 1627-8 (B.M. Add. MS. 53726)

(1). U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 91

Marriage settlement of Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel and Jane Griffith, 1517

This endenture made the Sixte day of may the nynte yere of the reigne of king henry the eighte betwene Richard ap hoell ap (Ievan vychan) of the Countie of fflynt gentilman upon that one partie and Sir William Gruffith knighte upon that other partie Witnessith that it is fully covenanted and agreed betwene the said parties in manner and forme folowinge, ffirst the said Richard graunteth bi these presentes that Thomas sonne and heire apparant of the said Richard shall take to wife and marie Jane the doghter of the said William affore the feast of the Assumpcion of our lady next ensuyng the date hereof And that the said Jane shall take to husband the said Thomas affore the said feest. Also the said Richard graunteth that he at the resonable request of the said William or of any other in his name after the Spowselles made and celebrated betwix the said Thomas and Jane shall make or cause to be made a sure and sufficient State in the law bi dede fyne or otherwise as shalbe devised bi the counsell of the said William to the said Thomas and Jane of landes and tenementes to the yerly value of twenty marc over all charges and reprises To have and to hold to the said Thomas and Jane and to the longer lyver of theym for terme of lyfe. And after their decesse to remayne to the heires of the body of the said Thomas lafuly begoten. At the coste and charge of the said William And also the said Richard graunteth that if the said Thomas sonne and heire apparant dye affore any carnall knowledge hadde betwene the said Thomas and Jane whiche god forbede That then an other sonne and heire apparant of the said Richard shall marie and take to wife the said Jane. And in like wise the said William Gruffith and Richard ap hoell graunten and bene condescended that if the said Jane dye before any carnall knowledge betwix her and the said Thomas that one other of the doghters of the said William shall marie and take to husband the said Thomas or any other Sonne then beyng heire apparant of the said Richard if he have any unmarried at that tyme At the request of the said William Gruffith And the said Richard shall make or cause to be made a sure and sufficient State in like wise of landes and tenementes to the yerely value of xx^{ti} marc to the use of theym so married in like manner and forme as is above reherced

And also the said Richard graunteth promiseth and coveñaunteth to the said William Gruffith knighte that he have not made nor hereafter shall make any alienacon feoffament discontinuance Statute marchaunt Statute of the Staple recognisaunce graunte rent charge fyne levey nor rekovere suffred bi his will or assent that shalbe hurtefull or disheriting of any of his Sonnes and heires that shal happen to marie any of the doghters of the said William Gruffith knighte, but that all his manors meses landes and tenementes hereditamentes rentes reversions and services whereof he or any feoffe or feoffes to his use be seased in demeane use or reversion after the decesse of the said Richard shall descend reverte remayne and come in fee 7 in use to the said Thomas or to suche other his Sonne and heire apparant that shal happen to marie any of the doghters of the said William Gruffith and to the heires of his body lafully begoten excepte landes and tenementes to the yerely value of tenne marc to be geven and graunted bi the said Richard to his sonnes hughe or piers for terme of their lyves the remayndre to the said Richard and to the heires of his body lafully begoten And that the said Richard shall make at the request of the said William Gruffith knighte <and> at his costes and charges all manner sufficient writings feoffamentes States and suffre recoveryes to be hadd agaynst him in best and surest wise and manner as the said William Gruffith knighte bi the advise of lerned Counsell shall devise and aske, unto Sir Res ap hoell ap Jeuan Vichan Sir harre ap John ap david ap Ithell priestes William ap William ap Gruffith ap Robyn and Edmund Gruffith to the use and behove of the said Richard for terme of his life without empechement of wast, the remayndre to the said Thomas and the heires of his bodie bi the said Jane lafully begoten or any other his sonne and heire as shal happen to marie any of the doghters of the said William Gruffith knighte of all his manors meses landes tenementes rentes reversions and services with the appurtenaunces within the Counties of Anglesey Caernarvon and Fflynt and within the lordship of Chirke. And for all the afforesaid coveñauntes and grauntes to be hadde and fulfilled bi the said Richard in manner and forme afforesaid The said William Gruffith knighte graunteth to the said Richard one hundred poundes in manner and forme ensuyng That is to say at the day of the

same Spowsolls betwene the said Thomas and Jane or betwix any Sonne and heire apparant of the said Richard and any of the doghters of the said William Gruffith knighte forty marc and from thense further yerely twenty marc at the feast of the appostels Peter and Paule and of all Sayntes or within xl^{ti} dayes after bi even porcions, unto suche tyme as the said Richard his heres or assignes be full payd and content of the said hundred poundes Also the said William graunteth that he and sufficient Suyrties with him shalbe bounden to the said Richard in Severall obligacions for payment of the rest of the said Somms at the daye above reherced And over this it is providet that Kateryn wif to the said Richard shall have her Dowery out of the said meses landes and tenementes after the deth of the said Richard, any covenant or graunt above said notwithstanding. In witnesse Whereof the parties above said to these presentes enterchaungeable have putte their Seales the day and yere above said.

(2). U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 96

Will of Thomas Mostyn, 25 August, 1558

In the name of God Amen The xxv day of August of the yere of our Lorde God a Thowsand five hundred fiftye and eight I Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn in the countye of fflynt & the diocese of Saynt Assaph Esquire being of wholle mynde and in good and perfect Remembraunce do make and ordeyne this my present Testament conteyning herin my Last will in manner & forme folowinge ffirste I bequethe my sowle unto the mercye of allmighty god my maker and Redemer desyring and praying the blessed Vyrgyn Mary mother of Jesu Chryst, with all the holly felowshipp and company of heaven for to pray with me & for me to the omnyotent blessed Trynytie that I may have forgevenes of all my Synnes by the merytes of the precyous passyon & deathe of our saviour Jesus Christ and that I may have a place of everlasting Rest among the chosen Childrene of god & also willing and desyring that my body may be buried in the parishe churche of Whytford Item I bequethe to Sir John Lloyd my goostly father and Curate of the said paryshe churche of Whytford ten shillinges to pray for my sowle and all chrysten sowles Item I bequethe to Sir John Morres Curate of Egloys Rosse tenne shillinges for to pray for my sowle and all chrysten sowles Item I will that all my debtes and duetyes as I owe to any person or persons be well and truly contented and paied by my executors herafter to be named and ordeyned, of all my goodes & chattalls And after my debtes payed and my funerall chardges performed I will that all my goodes & cattalls shalbe devyded in foure equall partes wherof I bequethe and will that Marget Mostyn my daughter shall have one equall parte, That is to saye the fourth parte of my sayd goodes to the preferment of her mariage Item I bequethe to my basse daughter Katheryne Mostyn Twentye pounce to the preferment of her mariage yf she wilbe ordered and mary after the Counsell of my wyfe Jane Mostyn, The other three partes That is to saye the resydue of all my goodes and Cattalls moveable and unmoveable not bequethed my debtes paied and my funerall expensys dyschardged and these my Legacyes conteyned in this present testament fulfilled I do freely and holly geve and bequethe to my sayd wyffe Jane Mostyn. And yf yt happen that the said Marget and Katheryne or any of them to decesse before that tyme that they shalbe maryed, my

said wyf then survyvinge That then I bequethe her parte or portyon so deceassing to my said wyfe Jane Mostyn And furthermore I will and bequethe to Roland Mostyn my sonne all that tenement Landes medowes and Lesowes with thappurtenances set Lying and being in the township of Kelleston in the countye of fflynt which I late purchased of the daughters of Gruffyth ap holl, one other tenement with all Landes therunto belonging set and Lying in the said towne of Kelleston in the countye aforesaid which I late purchased of David ap Eden, Maryon his wyf and Thomas ap David Eden Sonne to the said David ap Eden To have and to holde the sayd Two tenementes with thappurtenances to the said Roland Moystyn and his assignes for and during the naturall Lyf of the said Roland, the Remynder therof after the deceesse of the said Roland to the use of my sonne William Mostyn the yonger for & duryng his naturall Lyf, The Remynder therof after his deceesse to the use of my right heires for ever Item I geve and bequethe to the said William Mostyn the yonger all that tenement and Landes with thappurtenances set Lying and being in the towne of Gloythythe in the countie of Carnarvan which I late purchased of David ap John ap Meredith with one other parcel of ground set Lying and being in the said towne of glothythe Called Errowe athe ddy To have and to hold the said tenement with thappurtenances and the said parcell of Landes called Errowe athe ddy to the said William Mostyn and his assignes for and duryng the naturall Lyf of the said William Mostyn the yonger, The Remynder therof after the deceesse of the said William Mostyn to the use of the said Roland Mostyn for & duryng his naturall Lyf And after his deceesse the Remynder therof to the use of my right heyres forevermore. Item I geve and bequethe to the said William Mostyn the yonger one tenement sett Lying and beyng in the towne of Ruledyng within the countie of Carnarvan with all suche Landes as I have purchased of Griffith ap David ap Res which Late were the Landes of Rychard ap howell ap Ieuan alias Rychard peynter. To have and to holde the said Tenement with thappurtenances to the said William Mostyn the yonger and his assignes from and after the Determy nacion and expyracion of the yeres which Olyver Jones my servant nowe hathe of and in the said tenement unexpyred That is to say from the feast of Saint Mychaell Thearchangell which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde god a Thowsand five hundred & threescore for and duryng the naturall Lyf of the said

William Mostyn and after his decease the Remaynder therof to the use of the said Roland Mostyn for and duryng his naturall Lyf, The Remaynder therof after his decease, to the use of my right heires for ever. And of this my present Testament and Last will I make and ordeyne my Sonnes William Mostyn Esquier and Rychard Mostyn gentleman my Lawfull executors, And I utterly Revoke & annull all and every other former testament Willes Legacyes Bequestes Executors and overseers by me in any wyse before this tyme made named, willed, and bequethed. These being wytnes Rychard Mostyn, Olyver Johnes, Kynrigg ap David, Sir John lloid curate of Whytford holl ap Elize Sexton & Griffith ap Rychard parrochie de Whytford

Proved, P.C.C., 25 September, 1559.

(3). Clwyd R.O. D/M/3724

Will of William Mostyn, 20 February, 1566/7

In the name of God Amen the twentyeth daye of ffebruary in the yeare of our Lorde god one thowsand ffyve hundreth threescore & sixe and in the nyneth yeare of the Reigne of our Soueraigne Ladye Elizabethhe by the grace of god of England ffrance and Irland Quene deffender of the faythe &c. I William Mostyn of Mostyn in the Countye of fflint esquire beyng holle of bodye and of perfect memorye prayse tharefore be geaven to god callynge to my Remembraunce that I was borne to dye <certainely>, but when, where or by what meanes god onlye knoweth And for that the tyme of deathe ys uncertaine I have thought necessarye and good to sett such ordre of theis thynges that god of his goodnes hath comitted to my dispoicion, So that variencie and streif reise not for theym after my decesse, do therefore make this my present Testament In writinge Conteigninge therein my onlye holle & last will. And all other my willes & Testaments made at any tyme before the date hereof to be utterly voyde & of non effect. And in declaringe & makynge this my last will & Testament I do procede as followeth ffirste I commende & yeld my soule to the handes of allmightye god my maker and Redemer hopynge that throughe his Mercye promised in the blode of Christe and not of my deservynge he will most graciouslye Receve yt and that I maye have forgeavenes of all my synnes and have a place of everlastyng reste amonge the Chosen Children of God. And in the meane tyme I comitt my bodie to be buried in Christen buryall where soever it pleaseth god to assigne. Item I geave will and bequethe to Grace Mostyn my doughter towarde the prefermente of her marage three hundreth marks of good and law <full> money of England to be unto her well & truely contented satisfied & payd by Thomas Mostyn my sonne & heire apparante to be receved & taken of all thissues profeictes Rentes Revenewes yerely arisinge & growynge of all my landes tenementes and Inheritaunce in Pengwerne in the Countie of denbighe and my landes and tenementes in Nant bychan & Tregwehellyth in the Countie of Anglizey if the said Grace wilbe ordered by her brother Thomas Mostyn Thomas Powell her uncle Henry Pennante & Olyver Jones or the moste parte or Number of theym Item I geave will and bequeth unto my sonne John Mostyn one anuity or yerely rent of Sixe powndes thyrtyne shillinges foure pence of good &

lawfull money of England to be receved and taken at the feastes of St. Mychaell tharchangell and St. John Bapteste by Even pourcions to be well and truely satisfied contented and payde out of thissues profeictes Rentes and renews of my landes & tenementes in Trecastell in the Countie of Anglizey by my said sonne & heyre Thomas Mostyn to have hould leavey and percevey the said Anuitie or yerelye Rent of Sixe poundes thirtine shillinges foure pence to the said John Mostyn & his assignes for & duringe the naturall lief of the said John Mostyn And for defaulte of payment of the said Anuitie or yerelye rent of sixe poundes thirtine shillinges foure pence at the daies & feastes before mencioned I will and bequeth & my will is that in default of payment of the said Anuitie or anuall rent yerely at the daies aforesaid, it shalbe lawfull to the said John or his assignes unto all my landes and tenementes in Trecastell aforesaid to entre & distreyne & the distresses with hym to kepe untill the said Anuitie or yerelye Rent be unto hym fullie satisfied & payd Item I geve will and bequeth to Harry Mostyn my sonne one other Anuitie or yerely rent of sixe poundes thirteine shillinges four pence of good & lawfull money of England to be received & taken at the feastes of St. Mychaell tharchangell & St. John Baptyste by even porcions & to be well & truely satisfied contented & paid out of thissues profeictes rentes & Revenues of my landes & tenementes in Trecastell in the Countie of Anglizey by my sonne & heire apparaunte Thomas Mostyn to have hould levey & perceve the said Anuitie or Anuall Rent of sixe poundes thirtine shillinges foure pence to the said Harry Mostyn & his assignes for & during the naturall life of the said Harry Mostyn Item I will & my will is that if the said Henrye Mostyn be promoted or preferred to sperituall promossion to the value of ffourtie poundes a yere or upwardes that then & after the suche promocion the paymente of the said Sixe poundes thirtine shilling foure pence to the said Henry Mostyn to cesse & be no further leaved nor demanded Item I geve and bequeth to my brother Peires Mostyn an Anuitie or Annall Rent of ffourtie shillinges of good & lawfull money of England to be receved & taken at the feastes of St. Mychaell tharchangell & St. John Baptist by even porcons & to be well & truely satisfied and paid out of thissues of all my landes & tenementes within the Countie of Carnarvon by my sonne and heyre Thomas Mostyn To have hould levey & percevey the said Anuitie or yerely rent of ffourtie shillinges to the said Peires

Mostyn & his assignes frome the feast of St. Mychaell tharchangell next after the decesse of my mother Jane Mostyn duringe his naturall lief Item I will geve & bequeth to my brother Edward Mostyn one Anuitie or yerely rent of ffourtie shillinges of good & lawfull money of England to be receved & taken at the feastes aforesaid by even porcions & to be well & truely contented satisfied & payd out of the issues of my landes and tenementes in the Countie of Carnarvon by my said sonne Thomas Mostyn or his heyres in manner & forme aforesaid after the death of my said mother Item I geve & bequeth to my brother Roger Mostyn one Anuitie or Anuall Rent of ffourtie shillinges of lawfull money of England to be receved & taken at the feastes aforesaid by even porcions of thissues & Revenues of my Landes & tenementes in the said Countie of Carnarvon by my said sonne Thomas Mostyn To have & to hould the said Anuitie or anuall rent to the said Roger Mostyn & his assignes frome the day of the deathe of my said mother Jane Mostyn for and duringe the naturall lief of the said Roger Mostyn Item I geve & bequeth to my brother Rowland Mostyn one Anuitie or anuall rent of ffourtye shillinges of lawfull money of England to be receved & taken at the feastes of St. Mychaell tharchangell & St. John Baptist by even porcions & to be well & truely satisfied & paid out of thissues & profiectes of my Landes & teⁿementes within the said Countie of Carnarvon by my said sonne & heire Thomas Mostyn To have hould leavye & perceve the said Anuitie or yerely Rent to the said Rowland and his assignes ffrome the death of my said mother Jane Mostyn for & duryng the naturall liefe of the said Rowland Item I geve & bequeth to my brother William Mostyn one Anuitie or Anuall Rent of ffourtie shillinges of lawfull money of England to be receved taken at the feastes beforesaid by even porcions out of thissues & profiectes of my Landes & tenementes in the Countie of Carnarvon by my said sonne Thomas Mostyn To have & to hould the said Anuitie or yerely rent of ffourtie shillinges to the said William Mostyn & his assignes ffrome the day of the death of my said mother Jane Mostyn for & duringe the naturall liefe of the said William Mostyn my brother Item I geave and bequeth to Margaret Mostyn my wellbeloved wief my Manor house of Mostyn with all the demeanes therunto belonginge as meadowes leasowes pastures wooddes and underwoodes within Mostyn & Whictfordd garne to the said Manor belonginge or in any wise used

occupied Reputed taken or knowen as parte parcell or Membre of the said Manor of Mostyn To have and to hould to the said Margaret for and durynge all her naturall lief Item I geve and bequethe to my sonne & heire Thomas Mostyn my best Cheane of gold & my best seigned or Rynge of gould Item I geve and bequeth to my said sonne Thomas Mostyn two of my best trotyng geldynges Item the rest of my goodes Chattells Movable or unmovable fearmes leases & takynges platte & Jewelles after my legacyes payd & my debtes discharged I geve & bequeth to Margaret Mostyn my wellbeloved wief And for the true performance of this my last will & Testamente well & truely to be performed & executed I do by theis presentes constytut ordeyn & Make the said Margaret Mostyn my wief to be my true & lawful executrix of this my last Will & Testamente. In Witnes whereof to theis presentes I have putt my seale & Subscrybed my hand the day & yere Above written, in the presence of Tomas Mostyn, Roger Brereton, Ellis ap Res. Edward Griffith, Ieuan ap Edward, Richard Dackyn, Oliver Jones, Moryce Jones

Willyam Mostyn

Proved, P.C.C., 17 November, 1576.

(4). U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 107

Will of Margaret Mostyn, 5 October, 1592.

In the name of god amen. The fifte daie of Octobre in the yere of our Lord god one thousand five hundrethe fourescore and twelve and in the foure and thryttieth yere of the raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of Englande ffraunce and Irelande defender of the faith &c. I Margarete Mostyn of Mostyn in the Countie of fflynte and diocesse of Sainte Asaphe widowe beinge sicke in bodie but in good and perfecte memorie praise be given therefore to almightie god callinge to remembraunce that I was borne certainlie to die but when where and by what meanes god onlie knoweth, and for that the tyme of death is most uncertaine I thoughte goode and necessarie to sett downe such order of those substance and thinges which god of his goodnes hath committed to my disposicion so that noe variencie discorde or striffe rise not of the same after my deceasse and therefore I doe make this my testamente in writinge <contaigninge> therin my onlie whole and last Will and in declaringe and makinge of the same I doe proceede as followeth. Ffriste I yelde and commende my soule to the handes of almightie god my maker and redemer firmelie hopinge that he of his infinitte goodnes and mercie will accepte and receive the same to his bleassed kingdome and my bodie to be buried in the parishe church of Whitforde in the Countie of fflynte. Item I geve and bequeath towards the reparacion of the said parishe church twentie shillinges. Item I geve <will> and bequeath to the poore of the same parishe twentie shillinges. Item I give and bequeath to my sonne in Lawe Thomas Mostyn Esquier one peece of goulde called double duckette to the Value of thrytteene shillinges foure pence. Item I geve and bequeath to Roger Mostyn Esquier sonne and heire apparaunte of the said Thomas Mostyn my sylver bazen and ewer which I Lent to my said sonne in Lawe Thomas Mostyn. Also I give and bequeath to the said Roger Mostyn Esquier all my sylver plate to continewe and remayne as heireloomes to the house of Mostyn for ever. Item I geve and bequeath to the said Roger Mostyn all my righte title intereste terme and nombre of yeres which I have and yett to com and unexpired of and in all and singuler the messtringes Landes Tenementes and hereditamentes in the Comotte of Crythyn in the countie of Carnarvon called tir Escob and all the writinges and

Leases concerninge the same. Item I doe also give and bequeath to Thomas Mostyn gent seconde some of the said Thomas Mostyn Esquier all my righte title intereste and terme of yeres of and in certaine Landes called the barne hayes with the barne therupon standinge. Item I give and bequeath to Margaret Gruffith wief to Pires Gruffith Esquier six draughte Oxen and sixe kyne. I Likewise give and bequeath to Katherin Hanmer wief to Thomas Hanmer Esquier six draughte Oxen and six Kyne, and six heiffers of two or three yeres olde and one dozen of newe sylver spoones. Item I geve and bequeath to my syster Anne Kynaston twentie kyne to be hired and sett furth towards her maintenaunce and keepinge. Item I doe give and bequeath to Jane Oaxes my servaunte thrytteene shillinges foure pence. Item I doe geve and bequeath to everie of my hired maydes tenne shillinges a peece. Item I give and bequeath to everie of my hired servauntes tenne shillinges a peece. Item I geve and bequeath to William Oaxes tenne shillinges. Item I give and bequeath to John Hanmer sonne and heire of Thomas Hanmer Esquier fiftie sheepe. I give and bequeath to John ap Hugh Gronowe tenne shillinges. Item I give and bequeath to the said John Hanmer's nurse tenne shillinges. Item I give and bequeath to Jane Jones a blacke gowne. Item all the reste of all my goodes Cattles houshoulde stufte moveable and unmoveable after my Legacies deabtes and funerall paid and dischargd, I doe give will and bequeath to Roger Mostyn esquier and Thomas Mostyn gent whome I ordaine constitute and appointe to be my sole Exequutors of this my last will and testamente and for the performaunce of the same. In Wittnes wherof I have hereunto putt my seale the daie and yere above written in the presence of the persons undernamed beinge therunto called and required as wittnesses. This will was published in the presence of us here undernamed, to be her will.

Thomas Hanmer. Katherin Hanmer. Oliver Jones. William Owen. Owen Evans.
William Oakes. Jane Jones and Anne Oakes.

Proved, St. Asaph Consistory Court, 26 February, 1595.

(5). Clwyd R.O. D/M/3734

Will of Sir Thomas Mostyn, 10 December, 1617

In the name of God, amen. The Tenth daye of December in the yeare of the raigne of our Sovereaigne lord James by the grace of god of England, Scotland, ffrance, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc. that is to saie of England, ffrance, and Ireland the fifteenth and of Scotland the one and fiftith and in the yeare of our lord god one thousand sixe hundreth and seaventeene, I Sir Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn in the parish of Whitford in the Countie of fflint and diocesse of Sainct Asaph knight, being whole in bodie and of perfect mynde and remembrance (thankes be geaven to the almightie god) trusting only to be saved by the bloodie sacrifice and passion of our saviour Jesus Christe and by these presentes revoking all former wills and testamentes by me made do make my last will and Testament in manner & forme folowing. ffirst, I commende my soule into the handes of almightie god and my bodye to be buried in the parish church of Whitford or elsewhere at the pleasure of almightie god. And touching the disposicion of my wordly goodes and substance I do by these presentes declare that (for preventing and avoiding (so farre furth as in me lieth) of all controversies and contencions which might arise touching my goodes and personall estate after my decesse) I have alreadie made an absolute graunt and assignement in writing of all my goodes and chattells whatsoever to my sonne Thomas Mostyn of llys in the said Countie Esquier, And now according to the true intent and meaning of a covenant in that behalf made, and conteigned and specified in the said assignement I do devise, geve and bequeath as followeth I geave and bequeath to the reparacion of the parish church of Whitford five poundes, Item I geave and bequeath to the poore people of the said parish of Whitford sixe poundes thritteene shillinges foure pence Item I geave and bequeath towards the reparacion of the parish church of Eglwys rose fortie shillinges, Item I geave and bequeath to the poore people of the same parish of Eglwysrose fortie shillinges, Item I geave and bequeath to Sir Pæter Warburton knight, one of his highenes Justices of the Common pleas at Westminster foure porticues, Item I geave and bequeath to my deare cosin Sir Richard Bulkeley knight sixe poundes thritteene shillinges foure pence to buy him a cupp, Item I geave & bequeath to Sir Henry Towneshend knight five poundes to

buy him a cup. Item I geave and bequeath to my sonne in law Sir Thomas Hanmer knight my gray stoned horse. Item I geave and bequeath to the said Sir Thomas Hanmer knight and to my daughter the Ladie Katherine his wief the case of Tunnes which late I bought at London in which are conteigned sixe white silver Tunnes and one cover, one White salt with a cover twealve white silver plates, sixe white silver sawcers and one dozen of white silver spoones. Item I geave and bequeath (to my loving cosin) and most deare freind Sir Roger Puleston of Emerall knight my diamond Ring together with his choise of the best colte that it shall please god I have at the tyme of my decesse. Item I geave and bequeath to my sonne Sir Roger Mostyn knight one silver bason and Ewer parcell gilt, three gilt broad bowles with one cover, three parcell gilt broad bowles, three gilt beer Cupps, one gilt goblet with cover and two doozen of silver spoones lacking one which said plate is the old plate which were my fathers and now remayne unchanged at my house of Mostyn. Item I geave and bequeath to my graundsonne John Mostyn (second sonne of the said Sir Roger Mostyn knight) my best chayne of golde, and the same to be delivered unto him by my executor hereafter named when he cometh to twentie yeares of age, or in the meane tyme to such as my overseers or any two of them shall appoint. Item I geve and bequeath to my said daughter the ladie Katherine Hanmer two hundreth and twentie poundes in golde. Item I geave and bequeath to my graundsonne John Hanmer tenne poundes to buy him a gelding. Item my will is, that my said sonne Thomas Mostyn do keepe & deteigne in his owne handes three hundreth poundes of my goodes during the lief of Margarett Gruffith my daughter towardses the keeping & maynteignance of my said daughter Margaret Gruffith during such tyme as she lyveth from her husband Piers Gruffith of penrhyn Esquier, And after the death of my said daughter Margaret my will is that my said sonne Thomas Mostyn do distribute so much as shalbe left unspent of the said three hundreth poundes aforesaid amongst the children of the said Margaret begotten upon her bodie by the bodie of Piers Gruffith of Penrhyn Esquier. Item my will is, that my said sonne Thomas Mostyn and his executors do further keepe and deteigne in his and their owne handes towardses the yearely keeping & maynteignance of my said daughter Margaret while shee lyveth from her said husband twelve mylch kyne, one hundred sheepe, sixe featherbeds, sixe feather bolsters, twelve pillowes and

pillowebeers, twelve payor of ordinary sheetes (and for) every bed three
blanckettes. Item I geve and bequeath to my said sonne Thomas Mostyn towardes
the keeping and maynteignance of my said doughter Margaret Gruffith sixe white
silver bowles which lately I bought at Chester, whereof three be great bowles
and three be litle pinked bowles, together with one white double silver salt
which ordinarily I use and one doozen of silver spoones. Item I geave and
bequeath to my Sister Katherine Leighton twentie nobles to buy her a cupp. Item
I geave and bequeath to my aliesman John Jeffreys Esquier one of his Majesties
Justices of Northwales twentie nobles to buy him a Cupp. Item I geve & bequeath
to my servantes William Jones, Roger Lewis, Nicholas Jones, Andrew Mostyn, Thomas
Parrye, Thomas Jones taylor, Richard ap Robert, William ap Robert, William
Gruffith and John Bradshawe fortie shillinges a peece. Item I geave and bequeath
to my servant Thomas Parrye two kyne and twelve sheepe. Item I geave and bequeath
to all other my servants so men and women at both my houses of Mostyn and
Glothaith (tenn shillinges) a peece. Item I geave and bequeath all the rest of
my goodes moveable and unmoveable (my debtes paid, my funeralls dischargd, and
legacies satisfied) unto my sonne Thomas Mostyn of llys. And I do by these
presentes ordayne, constitute, nomynate and appoint the said Thomas Mostyn my
sonne to be sole and only executor of this my last will and testament, And do
request, nomynate and appoint the right worshipful Sir Peeter Warburton knight,
Sir Richard Bulkeley knight, Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer knight, my loving cosin
and most deare freind Sir Roger Puleston of Emerall knight, and my aliesman
John Jeffreys Esquier to be my Overseers of this my last will & testament. And I
do by these presentes chardge my said sonne Sir Roger Mostyn not to trouble, sue,
molest or interrupt my said executor in the execucion of this my will, but that
my said executor may quietly have and enjoye my goodes and Chattells according to
the true meaning of the said deed of assignement and graunt (to him thereof made
as aforesaid) and of this last will and testament, Provided alwaies, that if my
said sonne Sir Roger Mostyn do sue, impleade, or in any sort trouble my said
sonne Thomas Mostyn in the execucion of this my will or if he do clayme any other
of my goodes or Chattells, then is by this my last will appoynted or bequeathed
or mencioned to be bequeathed unto him, or formerly by good Conveyaunce in lawe

assured unto him, That then all legacies by this my will bequeathed or mencioned to be bequeathed to him the said Sir Roger Mostyn and all such legacies before by this my said will bequeathed or mencioned to be bequeathed to the said John Mostyn (second sonne of him the said Sir Roger Mostyn) shall cease, determyne and be utterly voyd to all intentes and purposes. Item my will and desire is, that my said sonne Sir Roger Mostyn do permitt & suffer my said executor to have free ingresse, egresse and regresse (for a convenient tyme after my decesse) into my houses and landes of Mostyn and Glothaith (which by my former conveyance are after my decesse ymediatly to remayne to my said sonne Sir Roger Mostyn) for the taking, carryeing away or other disposing of the said goodes & chattelles In witnes whereof I the said Sir Thomas Mostyn knight unto this my last will & testament have put my hande and seale, the day and yeare first above written, 1617.

Tho. Mostyn

This will was subscribed, sealed and published by me the said Sir Thomas Mostyn for my last will and testament the Tenth daye of December in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King James of England &c. the fifteenth after the sealing and delivery of a deed of gifte or assignement made by me the said Sir Thomas Mostyn unto Thomas Mostyn (my sonne) which deed of gifte beareth date the Nynth daye of December in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord James by the grace of god of England, Scotland, ffrance, & Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c. (that is to saie of England, ffrance, and Ireland the fifteenth and of Scotland the one and fiftith) in the presence of the witnesses whose names are underwritten.

Tho. Mostyn

Lewis Lloyd, clerk, viccar of Whytford
Evan lloid
Thomas Mostyn of stockin
William Roberts
William Mostyn
Howell ap Ieuan
Evan Robertes
Pe. Robertes, Notary publique

(all autograph signatures)

Proved, P.C.C.

(6). Clwyd R.O., D/M/3737

Will of Sir Roger Mostyn, 3 November, 1640

In the name of god Amen the third daie of November in the yeare of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand six hundreth and fortieth I Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn in the Countie of fflint being sicke in bodie but of good and perfeict memorie (god be praised) do hereby revoke all former willes by me heretofore made and doe make this my last will and testament in maner and forme following That is to saie ffirst I Commend my soule to Allmightie god my maker and redeemer hoping assuredlie by the onelie merittes of Jesus Christ my saviour to be made partaker of everlasting lief And I Commend my bodie to the earth whereof it was made. Item I doe devise give and bequeath to Dame Marie Mostyn my wiefe All her apparell Ringes and Jewells one bason and Ewre guilt and one guilt bowle bestowed upon me by my father in law Sir John Wynne knight and Baronet And my Caroach with the furniture thereof and such Coach horses mares and geldinges for the Coach as I shalbe owner of at the time of my deceasse To take keepe and enjoy the same to her owne use over and above the moitie of all my goods and Chattelles which the said Dame Marie is to have by the Custome of Northwales. Item I devise give and bequeath to Sir Thomas Mostyn knight my sonne and heire apparant the great bason and Ewre which I found in the house of Mostyn, one guilt bowle which was given by Mr. Robert Jones as an heirelome to the house of Mostyn, two guilt flagons with the Coate of Armes thereon, three guilt saltes one great brasse pott All the bedstedes tables formes and all brewing vesselles and implements belonging to the Larder and brewhouse in the house of Mostyn And all the furniture of the best Chamber at my said house of Mostyn and my two great horses with their furnitue and all my Armes whatsoever. Item I give devise and bequeath to John Mostyn my sonne one hundred poundes in money to be paied him within one yeare after my deceasse over and besides the lands and tenements in Tregarneth and Nantbychan in the Countie of Anglizey which by my deed under my hand and Seale I gave him for terme of his lief. And my will is that he my said sonne John Mostyn and his heires shall enjoy All such lands and tenementes which were by me purchased in his name in the Lordshippe of Ruthin and whereas I have by my deed in writing Conveyed all the messuages lands tenements and hereditaments by

me purchased from Hugh Peake John ap Harrie Meredith and others in the parish of Dimerchion in the Countie of fflint to the use of my sonne Richard Mostyn and the heires of his bodie (who sithence died without issue) And for default of such issue to the use of my said sonne John Mostyn and his heires forever Now I doe hereby declare That it is my true intent and meaning And I doe hereby give and bequeath all the said lands and tenements by me purchased as aforesaid within the said parish of Dimerchion unto my said sonne John Mostyn and his heires forever together with all the writinges belonging to the said purchased lands. Item I give and bequeath to my sonne William Mostyn one hundred pounds in money to be likewise paied unto him within one yeare after my deceasse by my executors hereafter named. Item I doe hereby declare that it is my will intencion and true meaning that the said William Mostyn my sonne and Elizabeth his now wiefe shall have hould and enjoy All those my lands tenements and hereditaments in Tregwehelith in the Countie of Anglizey for and during the terme of their naturall liefes according to theeffect and purport of a deed by me made to that use and purpose. Item whereas I have heretofore by my deed in writing duellie executed Conveyed to the use of Robert Mostyn my sonne All those mesuages lands tenementes and hereditaments with thappurtenances in the parishes of Rhelyfnoid Combe and Llanhasaph in the Countie of fflint part whereof I purchased in my owne name and part in the name of my said sonne Robert Mostyn of and from John Robert ap Llewelyn, Hugh Lewis David, William Price, Edward Parrie, Robert ap Hugh, Peeter Pennant, John ap Harrie Meredith, Ellice ap Hugh, Thomas ap Ellis and John ap Ellis lloid and all other the lands and tenements in the parishes aforesaid by me purchased in the name or to the use of my said sonne Robert Mostyn Now for the Cleering of all doubttes and questions which may arise for or touching the last mencioned premisses I doe hereby declare my will intencion and true meaning to be that the said Robert Mostyn my sonne shall hould and enjoy the same according to theeffect and true meaning of the said Conveyance to him thereof made as aforesaid And for the Confirmacion thereof I doe hereby give devise and bequeath all and singuler the said landes tenementes and hereditaments soe intended for my said sonne Robert Mostyn unto him the said Robert Mostyn and his heires and assignes forever. Item whereas I have by my severall deedes in writing Conveyed

to thuse of Roger Mostyn my sonne certein lands and tenements in the parish of Llangollen in the Countie of Denbigh by me purchased from one John Mathew and Certein lands and tenements in the parish of Disserth alias Llansanfraid in the said Countie of Denbigh by me purchased of and from one Thomas ap Hugh alias Wynne And Certein lands and tenements in Caervallough in the Countie of fflint by me purchased of and from one Randle ap Harrie Kenricke and others And whereas I have purchased in the name of my said sonne Roger Mostyn a parcell of medow ground in Creythyn of and from one William Jones Now for the cleering and avoiding of all doubts and questions which may be stirred for or Concerning the said premisses soe intended for my said sonne Roger Mostyn I doe hereby declare that it is my will and true meaning that he my said sonne Roger Mostyn shall have and enjoy the same and all other lands by me Conveyed unto him according to the purport and effect of such conveyance and assurances. And for the better establishing and Confirming thereof I doe hereby give and devise the said lands and tenements lastlie mencioned unto my said sonne Roger Mostyn and his heires and assignes forever. And whereas I am seised for terme of my liefes of the tieth Corne and hey in the towneship of Glothaith in the parish of Eglwysrose in the Countie of Carnarvon, the remainder whereof after my deceasse is to Come to Sir Thomas Mostyn my sonne and his assignes for terme of his liefes rendering to the Kinges Majestie a rent of foure markes per Annum as may appeare by an instrument purporting the said estates The revercion of which said tiethes I the said Sir Roger Mostyn have latelie purchased to me and my heires in ffeefarme forever of and from Lewis Owen Esquire deceased rendering to his Majestie the yearelie rent accustomed as by the assurance of the said purchase more plainelie and at large appeareth Now my will is and I doe hereby give devise and bequeath unto the said Dame Marie Mostyn my wiefe the said tiethes and the revercion thereof To have and to hould the same to her and her heires and assignes forever Provided allwaies and upon Condicion that if my said sonne Sir Thomas Mostyn shall within two monethes next after my deceasse sufficientlie demise unto the said Dame Marie Mostyn his mother or to such as she shall appoint All the said tiethes with thappurtenances for and during the terme of fourtie yeares (if the said Dame Marie shall soe long live) at and under the

accustomed due to his Majestie Then my will is that the devise of the said tiethes and the revercion thereof hereby made to the said Dame Marie and her heires shall cease determine and be voided. And after the deceasse of the said Dame Marie I give and devise the revercion of the said tiethes unto the said Sir Thomas Mostyn and his heires and assignes forever. Item I doe give devise and bequeath unto the said Dame Marie Mostyn my wiefe during the terme of her naturall liefte All the messuages lands tenementes and hereditaments which I purchased to me and my heires forever of my welbeloved Cosin William Kyffin deceased and of ffoulke ap Thomas or either of them and all other landes and tenementes by me not formerlie disposed which I had and purchased to me and my heires in the Comot of Creythin in the said Countie of Carnarvon of or from any other person or persons whosoever. Item I give and bequeath to the poore of the parish of Whitford tenne poundes and for and towards the reparacion of the parish Church of Whitford other tenne poundes to be laied out upon such necessarie reparacion of the said Church as shall seeme fitt to my heire and the vicar of the said parish for the time being Item I give and bequeath to the poore of the parish of Eglwys rhôs the some of sixe poundes thirteene shillings and foure pence and towards the reparacion of the bodie of the said Church sixe poundes thirteene shillings and foure pence to be distributed and disposed as shall seeme fitt to my said wiefe and John Mostyn my sonne whom I desire to see the same performed. Item I give and bequeath to every of my servants dwelling with me at the time of my deceasse both at Mostyn and Glothaith soe much money as every of their yeares wages shall amount unto for the yeare next before my deceasse. Item I give and Bequeath to my sonne in law Richard Grosvenor Esquire the some of fiefteie pounds of lawfull money of England and the like some of fiefteie pounds to his wiefe and my daughter Sydney Grosvenor to buy her plate. Item I give and bequeath to my sonne in law Richard Bulkley fiefteie pounds and to his wiefe and my daughter Katherine Bulkley fiefteie pounds more to buy her plate. Item I give and bequeath to my daughter in law Margaret Mostyn sixe of the best draught oxen that shalbe upon the demesnes of Mostyn at the time of my deceasse. Item I give and bequeath to my welbeloved brother in law Sir Richard Wynne Knight and Baronet, my welbeloved Cosin Sir Thomas Powel Baronet and my welbeloved brother in law

William Wynne Esquire the some of twentie pounds a peece to buy them ringes.

Item I give and bequeath to my Loving sister the Ladie Katherin Hammer two and twentie shillinges to make her a ring and to my Loving brothers in law Owen Wynne, Maurice Wynne and Henry Wynne two and twentie shillinges a peece to make them ringes. Item I doe give devise and bequeath to John ffoulkes my servant one Annuitie or yearelie rent Charge of tenne pounds by the yeare of lawfull money of England to be issueing goeing out and distraigneable in and out of all and singuler my mesuages lands tenements and hereditaments in Cefncoch in the Countie of Anglizey To have hould perceave receive distraigne for and enjoy the said Annuitie or yearelie rent Charge of tenne pounds unto the said John ffoulkes and his assignes for and during the terme of his naturall liefе at the feastes of Philip and Jacob thapostles and All Saintes yearelie during the said terme by equall porcions the first paiement thereof to beginne and Commence at such of the said feastes as shall first and next happen after my deceasse. And all the said mesuages lands tenements and hereditaments Charged as aforesaid I give devise and bequeath unto the said Roger Mostyn my sonne and his assignes for and during the terme of his naturall liefе and after his deceasse to my right heires forever over and besides my lands and tenements in Trecastell or soe called in the Countie of Anglizey late in the occupation of Humfrey Jones gentleman Rowland White Esquire and Margaret Barlow widow or any of them or their or any of their undertenants which I have heretofore by my deed in writing Conveyed to the use of the said Roger Mostyn my sonne and his assignes for and during the terme of his naturall liefе. And my will is that the said Roger Mostyn shall hould and enjoy the said lands and tenements in Trecastell or called Trecastell during his liefе according to the intencion and true meaning of the said deed. And moreover I give and bequeath unto my said sonne Roger Mostyn the some of one hundred pounds of lawfull money of England. And my will is that the said Dame Marie Mostyn my wiefe shall have take and receive the rents issues and profittes of all and singuler the lands tenements and hereditaments hereby before mencioned to be provided for the said Roger Mostyn my sonne during his minoritie and untill he shall accomplish his age of one and twentie yeares for and towards his maintenance and educacion which I committ to her care And shall also have the disposicion and goverment of what part of my

personall estate shalbe due to the said Roger by this my will during his
minoritie and to his use and best profitt. All and singuler the rest and residue
of my goods Cattles Chattelles plate readie money household stuffe implements &
substance after deduction of my funerall expences the payment of my debtes, and
the moitie or one haulfe of my said estate due to my said wiefe by the Custome
aforesaid and the paiement and discharge of the Legacies hereby given to my said
wiefe and others out of that her moitie I give devise and bequeath to my yonger
sonnes John Mostyn, William Mostyn, Robert Mostyn and Roger Mostyn to be equallie
devided betweene them And I doe nominat and appoint the said Dame Marie Mostyn my
wiefe Richard Grosvenor Esquire William Wynne Esquire Maurice Wynne Esquire and
John Mostyn my sonne executors of this my Last will and testament whom I doe
desire to see the same performed according to my intencion and true meaning and
the trust I doe repose in them. In wittnes whereof I have hereunto putt my hande
and Seale dated the daie and yeare First above written 1640.

This will was subscribed sealed delivered and
published by the said Sir Roger Mostyn for his
last will and testament in the presence of

Roger Mostyn

John Eyton
Peter Griffith
Richard Evans, clerk
Michael Evans, clerk
Peter Wynne
Hugh Mostyn
Edward Williams

Duodecimo die Januarii Anno Regni Regis Caroli Anglie &c. decimo
septimo Annoque Domini 1641

I the within named Sir Roger Mostyn doe hereby declare that it is my will that
Roger Mostyn my grandchild shall have all the legacies by me intended for my sonne
Sir Thomas Mostyn his father now deceased and shall also have the tiethes in
Glothaith mencioned in this my will to him and his heires Soe as he doe permitt
my wiefe to enioy the same during her liefes. And whereas I have hereby given an
Annuittie or rent Charge of tenne pounds by the yeare to John ffoulkes my servant
during his liefes I doe hereby limitt and declare that all my lands & tenements in

the Countie of Anglizey not Conveyed to any of my yonger sonnes shalbe Charged with the said rent or annuitie to thend the said John ffoulkes may be duellie paied thereof according to my intent and true meaning And I doe hereby further declare that it is my will and true meaning That my wiefe shall have all the Jewelles and money which she hath of her owne or are so accounted besides what is by this my will intended for her And I doe hereby give and bequeath unto my Cosin Mary lloyd the some of twentie pounds of lawfull money of England In wittnes whereof I have hereunto putt my hand & Seale the day & yeare above writen

This Codicill was sealed signed declared
& published by the said Sir Roger Mostyn
for part of his last will & testament in
the presence of

Maurice Wynn
John Mostyn
Richard Evans, clerk
Robert Mostyn
Raphael Davies
John Bennett
Edward Williams

Roger Mostyn

I doe give & bequeath
unto the said Marie lloyd
the some of twentie pounds } xl li.
more in all }

Proved P.C.C., 27 August, 1647.

(D/M/3737 is the original will; D/M/3739 is a probate copy).

(7). U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 6056

Valuation of Sir Roger Mostyn's estate, c 1619

A note of all the lands and tenements of Sir Roger Mostyn knight in the Counties
of Chester, fflint, Denbigh, Caernarvon and Anglisey
Caernarvonshire

The Capitall howse of Glothaith, and demeane together with one Milne well worth per annum	373 li. 0. 0.
Item received in rents out of the tenements of auncient Lands in the same Countie which tenements (by survey therof taken) are valued to be well worth per annum	37 li. 18s. 8d. 77 li. 13s. 4d.
Item rec. in rents out of Lands which were purchased by my selfe in the same Countie which purchased lands (by survey therof taken) are valued to be well worth per annum	24 li. 9s. 8d. 62 li. 6s. 8d.
Item certayne scattered arrable lands beinge yearlie sett out for parte of Corne, and from tyme to tyme, the Corne sould for the some of	54 li. 8s. 0.
Item I hould lands for three lives from the Lord Bishoppe of Bangor and a teith for two lives of the townshippe of Glothaith which I leave unvalued	
Soe that my receats in Carnarvonshire, besides the things unvalued, with presents which are yearlie due and nowe rec.	489 li. 17s. 0.
Worth	567 li. 8s. 8d.

fflintshire

The demeane of Mostyn together with one water Milne well worth per annum	510 li. 14s. 0.
Item rec. in rents out of the Auncient Lands and tenements beinge within the parishes of Whitford, Hollywell, Kilken, Halkin, Llanhassa, Ruthlan, Disserth, Caerwys and Demeirchion in the same Countie	184 li. 2s. 9d.
Which tenements by Survay thereof taken are valued to be well worth per annum	531 li. 1s. 9d.
Item rec. in rents out of lands purchased by my selfe in the same Countie	108 li. 3s. 8d.
Valued upon survaye to be well worth per annum	176 li. 0. 4d.
Item in other Comodities which Mr. Justic. Jeffreys can acquainte yow withall	700 li. 0. 0.
Soe that my receats in fflintshire yearlie are	1503 li. 0. 5d.
Beinge worth per annum	1717 li. 16s. 1d.

Denbighshire

Pengwern in the parishe of llangollen beinge an auncient Capitall howse and demeane well wooded well worth per annum	40 li. 0. 0.
Which demeane upon Survaye thereof taken is valued to be well worth per annum	60 li. 0. 0.
Item rec. in rents out of the tenements of Auncient lands in the same Countie per annum	67 li. 0. 0.
Which tenements by survay thereof taken are valued to be well worth per annum	87 li. 0. 0.

Item rec. in rents out of such lands which I purchased my selfe in the same Countie lyinge and beinge within the parishe of llangollen, Clocaynoge & disserth	25 li. 17s. 0.
Upon Survey well worth per annum	42 li.
Soe that my receats in Denbighshire are yearly worthe	133 li. 10s. 8d.
Upon Survey well worth	209 li. 0. 0.
<u>The Countie of Anglisey</u>	
The Capitall howse of Tregarneth and demeane yeerely sett for	60 li. 0. 0.
Which upon survey is valued well worth per annum	105 li. 0. 0.
Item rec. in rents out of the tenements of Auncient lands lyinge in Tregwehelith and the townshippe of Nantbichan in the same Countie	130 li. 0. 0.
Which tenements by survey are valued to be well worth per annum	192 li. 6s. 8d.
Trecastle beinge an auncient howse and demeane sett out per annum for	30 li. 0. 0.
Upon survey well worth	40 li. 0. 0.
Item rec. in rents out of more auncient lands within the same Countie	34 li. 0. 0.
Upon survey well worth per annum	56 li. 0. 0.
Soe that my rec. in Anglisey are yeerely	254 li. 0. 0.
Upon Survey well worth	393 li. 6s. 8d.

Cheshire

The Patronage of the parsonage of Christleton to
me and to my heires for ever, the profit whereof
I have a lease graunted before the Statute for
certayne yeeres yet to come which yealdeth Clearly
per annum

100 li. 0. 0.

Item rec. in rents out of the tenements of auncient
Lands in the Cittie of Chester and in the parishes
of Neston and Melch
Knowne to be well worth per annum

76 li. 0. 0.

Soe that my Rents rec. in Cheshire are yeerely
Beinge well worth

109 li. 6s. 8d.

176 li. 0. 0.

(Total receipts: £2,489. 14s. 9d.
Total value: £3,300. 11s. 5d.)

Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir John Wynn, 5 January, 1623/4.

Honoured Sir

I doe not finde that forwardnes for a parliament that there needeth any speciall labour for the tyme the last newes I heard, that there was direccions given for the makeinge of the writtes yet soddenly there came a stae, and the lordes satt in Councell there aboutes, and were devided as the reporte is in opinions soe that now it is conceaved to be at a stand, I received in the beginnunge of the holidayes letters from both my sonnes Thomas and John and both tended to one ende, for a place in parliament for this shire, for this shire both I and the rest of the gentlemen have promised our endeavours for Sir John Hanmer, and the burgesseshippe for William Ravenscrofte, and suerly had I bene a free man to dispose of the place at my pleasure I would have bene well advised before I would have conferred the same upon my sonne Thomas the tymes are dangerous and a man knowes not to what inconvenience a yonge man may be drawne unto, and to drawe him to live in london his wife in the Countrey, haveinge noe other busines there but to attende the parliament may be inconvenient, his expence I hould the lest matter of all and am perswaded that if his father in lawe had thought it fitt he would have written unto me, or procured him a purcheshippe in some other place, therefore have seaven daies agoe writen to my sonne to this effecte that since he slept soe longe in his desires he was either to expecte a place in that kind from his father in lawe or none at all, for my sonne John I rest wholie upon my Cousyn Richard Buckleyes power and if it may not be had without any contesting with any Countrey gentleman, I hould it not worth the haveinge, and have written to him alsoe to the same effecte, thoe I am better pleased he should be inployed in that service than his elder brother, he hath litle to loose what soe ever fall thereof, and for the place in Carnarvonshire I doe not hould it worth your opposicion, unlesse it come clenly without trickes they will hardly stande when they come to the scanneinge of the house, I have founde the experience of it at my last beinge there. If Thomas Williams be resolved to stand assure your selfe he is but sett on, in hope to drawe one a conceipt against yow or yours by the great man, and suerly I conceive my brother Owen his advise in that pointe to be

very good. And the place you can make good without opposition for any of your
friendes may well serve the turne, there are such rumors of busines intended for
this parliament that for my parte I would neither wishe my selfe nor any friend
of myne of note to be of the same. Where you write unto me to procure Sir James
Whitlockes letter to both those Counties is in my conceipte to litle purpose, but
I leave that to your better consideracion and upon notice had from you the next
day after the receipt thereof I will not faile of my full endeavour to prevaile
with hyme in that kinde, but he is not at Ludlowe, and liveth at his house at
Halley Court neere Oxford, but howe fare soever, if it be your will, I will send
a messenger there upon the lest notice. I am suer you have heard of severall
Companyes in London the last tearme that called them selves Tyteretries, and the
bugle horne into which there are gentlemen drawne of severall qualities bothe
Pappistes and protestantes and allthough the matter seemes in showe to be of noe
moment yet you will finde it in the ende to stande fowly with such of them as are
of worth, diverse of them standes comitted into severall prisons, some are bailed
and bound to answeere the first day of the next tearme at the starre Chamber where
of the report goes Sir Charles Gerard beinge a wise understandinge gentleman and
a good protestant was drawne to that Company, and was sent for beinge once gott
out of towne by a writte, and assure your selfe there is not meany of that
Company that were drawne in did understand the true plott which is conceaved to
be first devised by the papistes. These thinges considered makes me the more wary
and carefull that my eldest have no occasion given hyme by me to be in Company
where he may meete with those of all humors, this proceedeth wholie of my care of
his good, and haveinge imparted unto you my thoughtes doe leave my selfe in this
to be directed by you, purposinge to see you as soone as I can, there is one that
lyes sicke in my house of the newe desease, whoe lyeth out of the house and none
of my people comes neere hyme but he that attendes hyme and if I finde my house
cleere I will not faile to come to you, I in the meane Comende my selfe to you and
my mother and all yours

Your loveinge sonne

Roger Mostyn

Mostyn 5 Januarii, 1623.

(9). U.C.N.W. (Bangor) Mostyn 7294

Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir James Whitelock, 17 January, 1619/20. (Draft).

Honourable Sir,

Wheare by my mocion to my Cousin Jeffereys whoe is one that much respecteth you and wisheth me well, a match hath been proposed betweene our Children, for my parte in regard of the auncient acquaintance and love I find in you and especiall touchinge my brothers cause against the Lady Gruffith, he told me you refuced to be for him unlesse he and I were one which causeth me the more willinge to offere my selfe freely to your dispose, and to embrace your further love, and as my Cousin Jeffereys hath begun the motion, and that the same was furthered by Sir Richard Wyn and my uncle Ellis Wyn, I am resolved to submitte my self to stand to any reasonable condicions they shall propound and consent unto, and to that end have sent my servant with such particulers of my estate as they advised me to attende you, that after conference had with you, I maie knowe your resolucion, I wilbe ready to attende you where you appoint to effecte that shalbe agreed for my parte to be performed Thus with remembraunce of my best love to your self, your good lady and the gentlewoman, I leave further at this tyme to trouble your restinge

Yours assured ffriend

The manor of
Mostyn and the
lease of Gogarth
tith are assured

The porcion I demand is 3000 li. which I protest have refused elsewhere
I will assure all my Auncient Lands upon the heires males begotten upon the body of the gentlewoman the remainder for default upon his heires males, and in default I would have it entailed upon my second sonnes, by name and their heires males, remaynder to myne owne right heires, my purchased lands I reserve to my owne dispose
A liberty for me to make leases reserving the rent nowe answered for yeeres or lives, and services accustomed, etc.
Liberties to graunt anyties to my yongest sonnes, not exceeding 50 li. apeice per annum
Libertie to chardge my Land with porcion for my daughters, such

as shall be married or preferred at the tyme of my decease
Libertie of 40 li. per annum to dispose off at my pleasure,
soe it be not of any parte of the demeanes

All the Lands in Carnarvonshire is intended for my wives
Jointure, and if I marry againe, a jointure for my second wife
The Jointure of the yonge gentlewoman shalbe answerable to
the porcion receaved from the father and a convenient place
shalbe assigned out for the same

Accordinge to the porcion demanded by me beinge 3000 li.,
300 li. per annum will fall out to be the Jointure and
maintenance. My desire is that I maie have 50 li. abated
durings the lief of the Lady Gruffith my mother-in-lawe
Libertie alsoe to exchange any quillet or parcell of Land for
the betteringe and the more commodious to my house by the
assente of friendes etc.

Libertie alsoe to grant anuities to a second wives children
not exceeding 20 marks apeice.

A provisoe to charge the Land with porcion for my sonnes
daughters if it please god to call for him leavinge noe heires
male of his body to which I am contented to yeelde according
to the maner of all matches in this kinde and such other
libertie as Councill shall thinke fitt etc.

(10). B.M. Additional MS. 53726

Bulstrode Whitelocke's 'Annales of his Life written for the use of his Children': account of his 23rd year (1627-8).

(I am grateful to Professor J. Gwynn Williams for drawing my attention to this document and for the loan of his transcript. He discovered it after most of this study had been typed and Whitelocke's account of his visit to Mostyn is therefore included here).

(f. 39a) ... From hence I rode by the Cole hilles, upon the sea sands to Mostyn, the house of Sr. Roger Mostyn, my sisters father in lawe, where I had a kind outward wellcome butt I had rather sitt at coarser fare myselfe, then in a journey my horses to want provender.

This family of Mostyn is very ancient and worshipfull, their name was Trevor, from their lineall ancestor Tuder Trevor, a very great man in his time, and of the Princes of Wales, from whom 3 great houses, Edwards, Mostyn and Trevor derive their pedigree. Cambden sets downe the occasion that in H. 7. time Mostyn left off his many names and called himselfe after the name of his chiefe house, Mostyn.

This house is large butt not uniforme it stands upon a Cole hill, under which the sea beates, and it is opposite to the utmost point of Werall in Cheshire, to a little Island called Helbere.

The building is strong and durable of that Countrey stone, the aier from the sea, is sharpe, and hinders the fruit, the ground is fertile about it helped by lyme stones, much used heerabouts.

Their Colepits are a great commodity running in a plentifull veyne by the sea side, and barkes of 20 and 30 tun come to fetch them for Ireland.

The Channell favours not the Welch side, butt runnes by Werall to Chester. In the garden are pleasant walkes with a prospect into the countrey, and on the other side, as far as one can ken, into the sea, it is about 12 howers sayle from Irèland ...

(f. 39b) ... Att the Church att Mostyn, part of the service was read in the Welch, and part in English, and the Vicar would have preached in Welch, but said he was not provided to doe it in English, but Sr. Roger dispensed with the Vicar and told me that he himselfe could not well understand the Welch sermons.

Penguerne is said to be the antient seat of the Mostyns, the name signifies the head of an owlestree and is in Denbigh shire, this, and Penrhin (f. 40a) in Carnarvonshire, the seat of Griffith, and Penmonith a Mone, that is, the head of a mountain in Anglesey, the place where Glendour was borne, are said to be the three antient seats of Northwales ...

... I came back to a Wake att Mostyn, with much company, and we went on board a barke of Sr. Rogers being att Anchor neer the house where I was in very great danger to be cast away by a sudden violent storme, butt God preserved me.

It was now time to returne for England and after my thankes and complements for my very noble intertainments att Mostyn and Kilken and taking leave of my friends there, particularly of Mr. Eaton, to whom my sister was much obliged, I went to Place tege ...

APPENDIX F

MAPS

1. The Five Courts
2. Pengwern lands in the fourteenth century
3. Lands acquired by Tudur ap Ithel Fychan
4. Gloddaith and Tregarnedd lands in the fourteenth century
- 5.(a). The Mostyn estate in 1618: Flintshire, Denbighshire and Cheshire
- (b). The Mostyn estate in 1618: Anglesey and Caernarvonshire
6. Mostyn marriages, 1517-1642

The maps referred to in this section are in the pocket in the back cover of the thesis.

MAPS

1. The Five Courts

This map shows the location of the Five Courts of Pengwern, Trecastell, Mostyn, Gloddaith and Tregarnedd.

2. Pengwern lands in the fourteenth century

Here are shown the townships in Nanheudwy and Maelor Saesneg where Ednyfed Gam and Iorwerth Ddu held or acquired land. As is described in the first chapter of this study, Iorwerth did not inherit the Maelor Saesneg lands and therefore they did not descend to the Mostyns.

3. Lands acquired by Tudur ap Ithel Fychan

This shows the townships in Flintshire where Tudur acquired land between 1316 and 1366.

4. Gloddaith and Tregarnedd lands in the fourteenth century

Carnan and Porthaethwy with part of Tregarnedd were sold to the Penrhyn family during the fifteenth century; the fate of the Mochdre lands is not known.

5.(a). The Mostyn estate in 1618: Flintshire, Denbighshire and Cheshire

This map and the following one are based on the new valuation of the estate after it was inherited by Sir Roger; in this the tenements in these counties are grouped under parishes, while those in Anglesey and Caernarvonshire are grouped under townships. These two maps give some indication of the geographical spread of the estate.

5.(b). The Mostyn estate in 1618: Anglesey and Caernarvonshire

6. Mostyn marriages, 1517-1642

This is an attempt to show the extent of Mostyn marriage alliances in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; full details are given in Chapter IX of this study.

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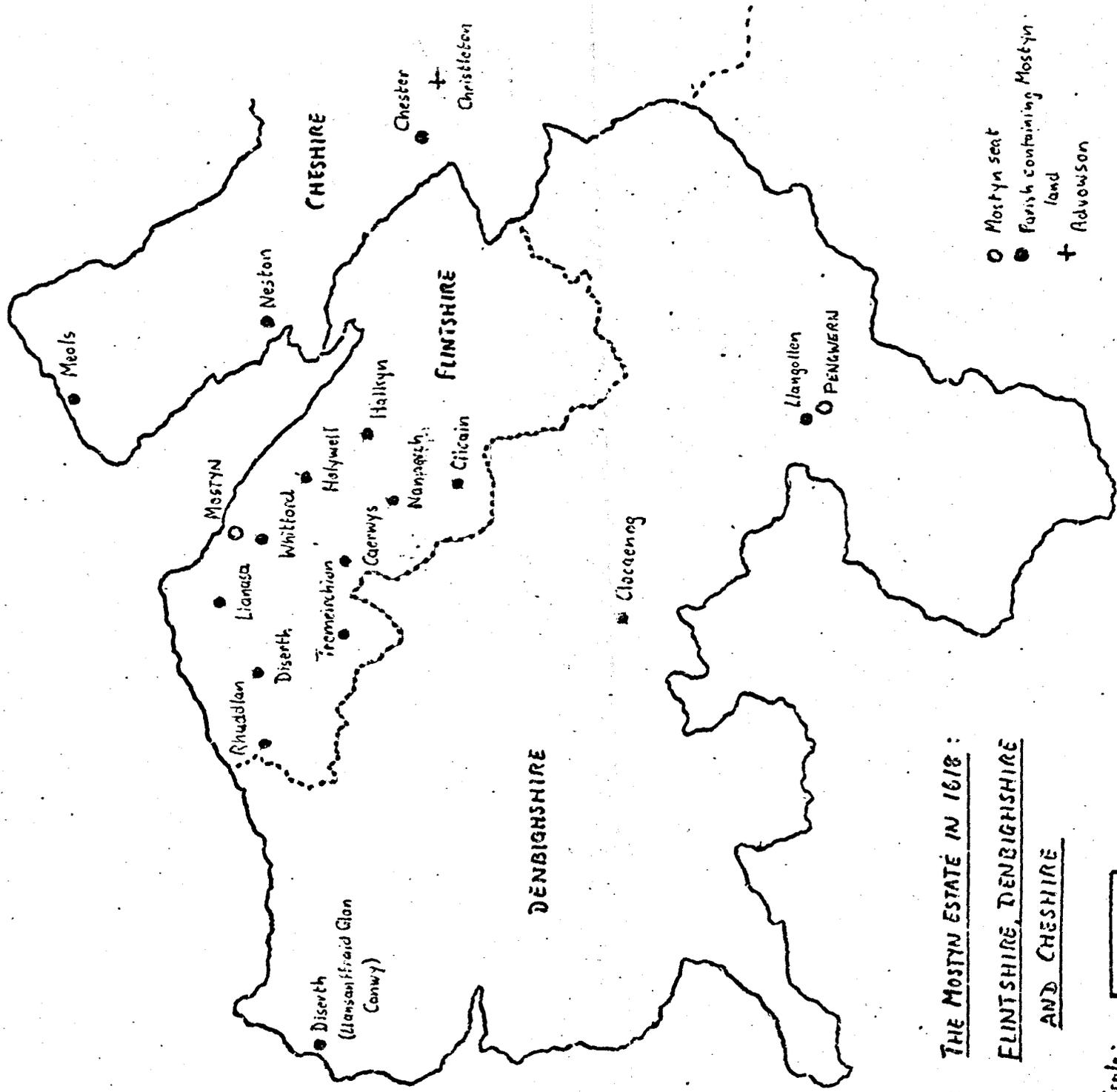
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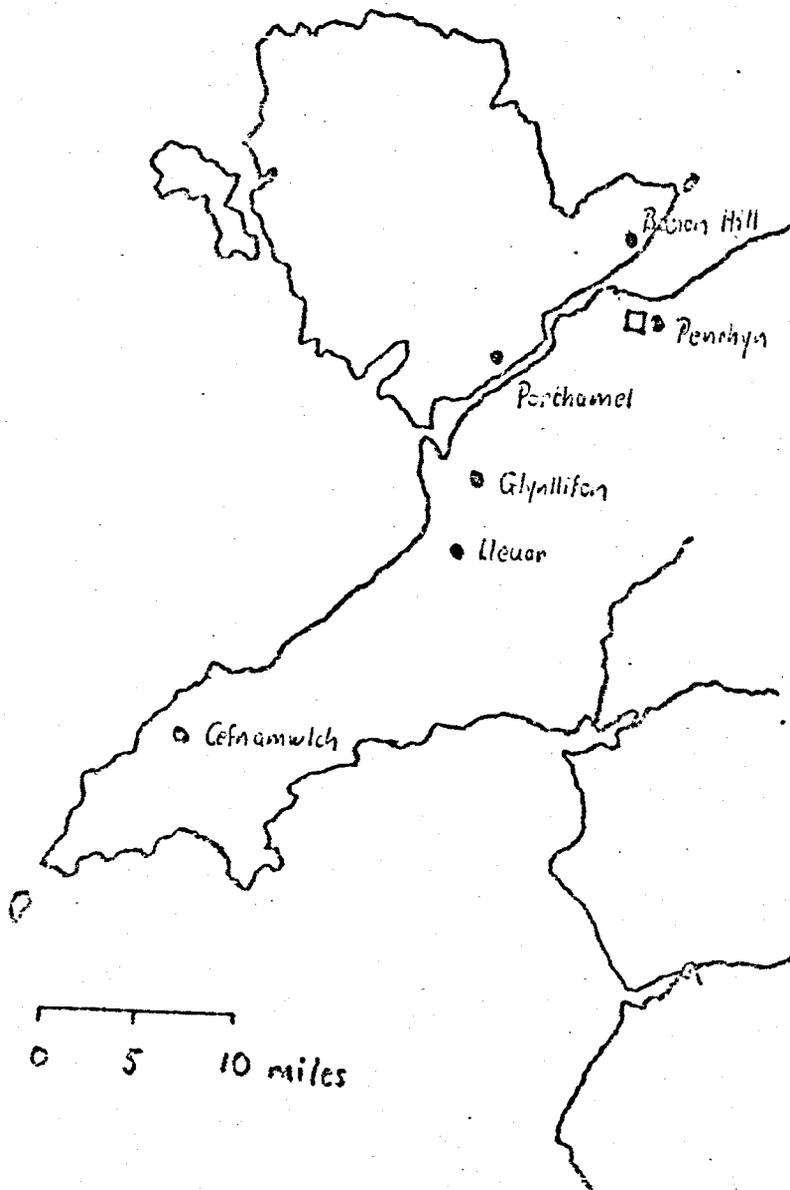
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*This has now been published as Eurys Rowlands, Gwaith Lewys Môn (Cardiff, 1975)

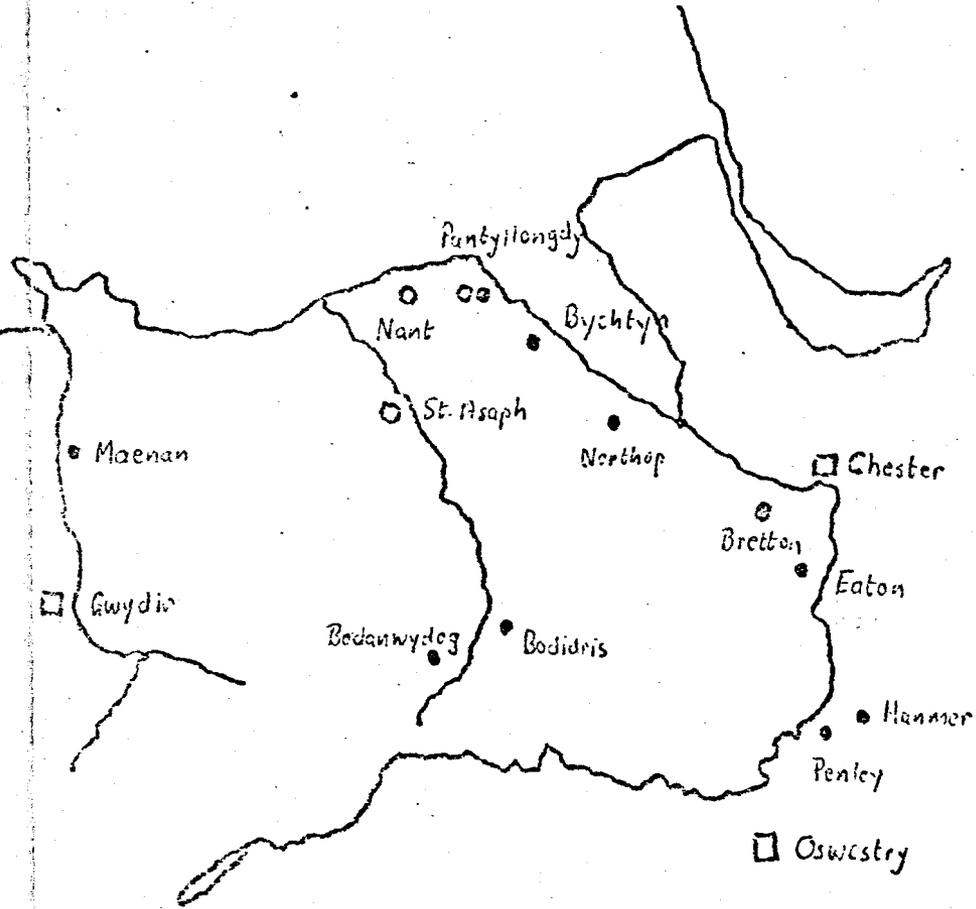


5 (a) THE MOSTYN ESTATE IN 1618 :
FLINTSHIRE, DENBIGHSHIRE
AND CHESHIRE

Scale: 0 5 miles

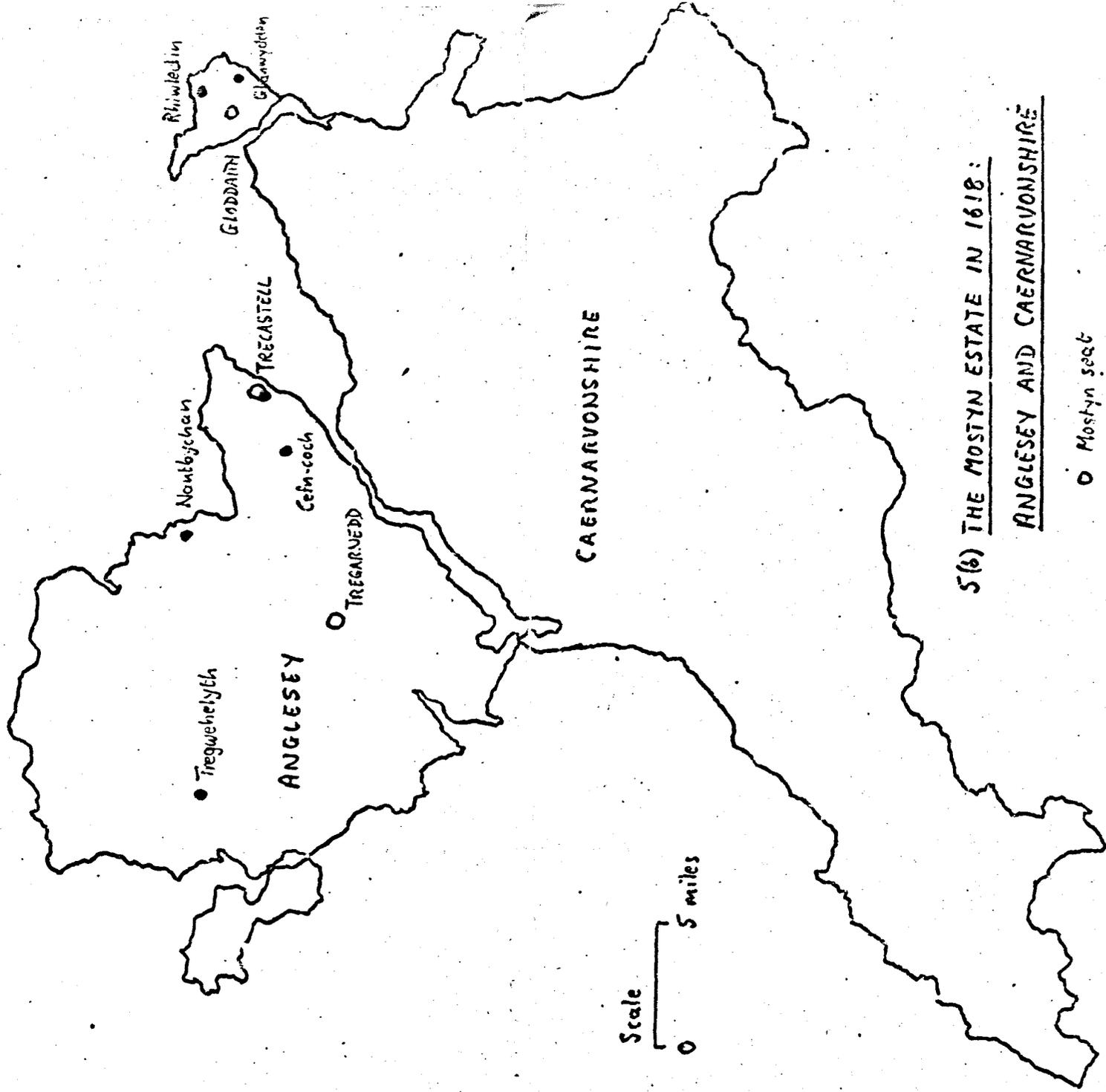


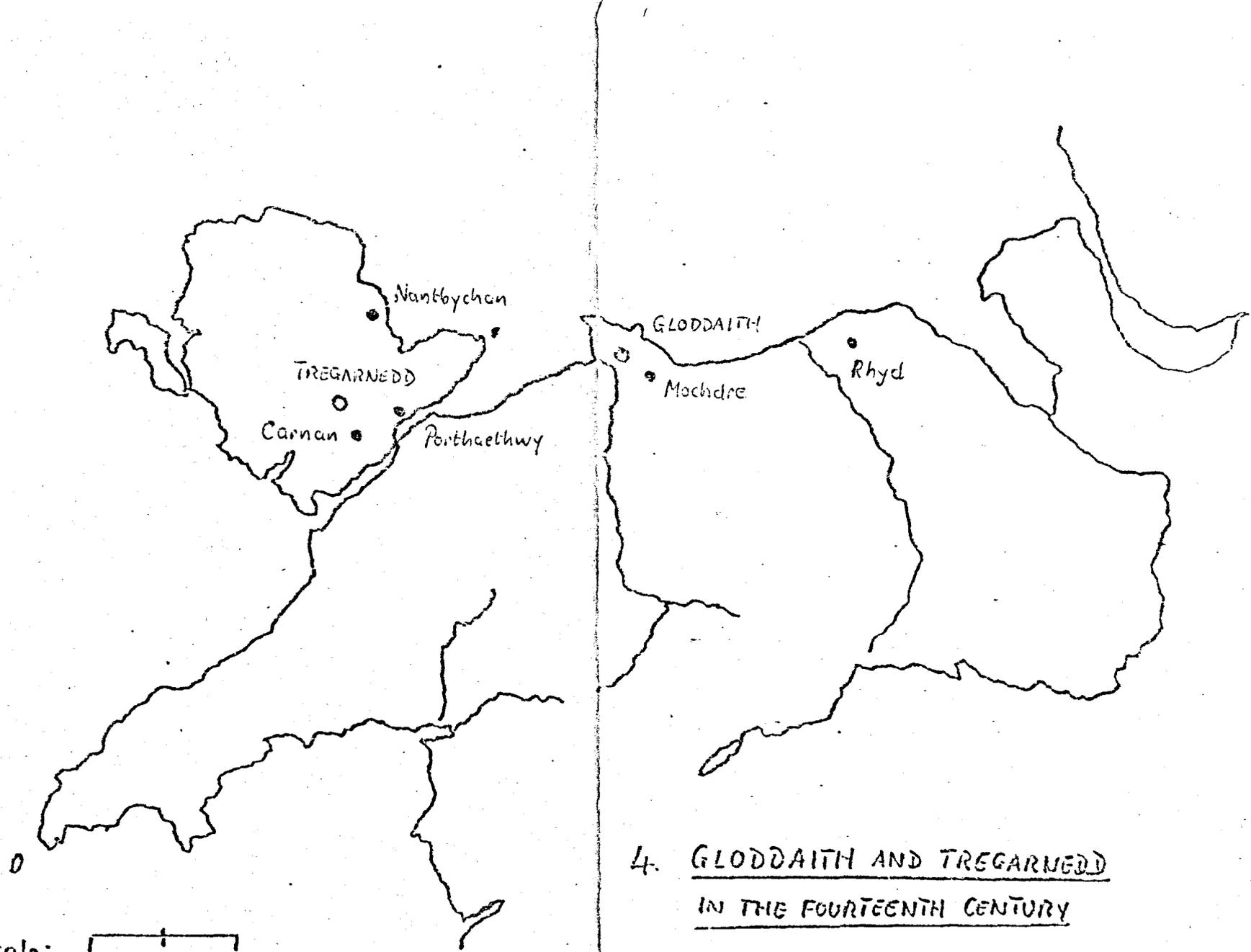
6. MOSTYN MARRIAGES, 1517-1642



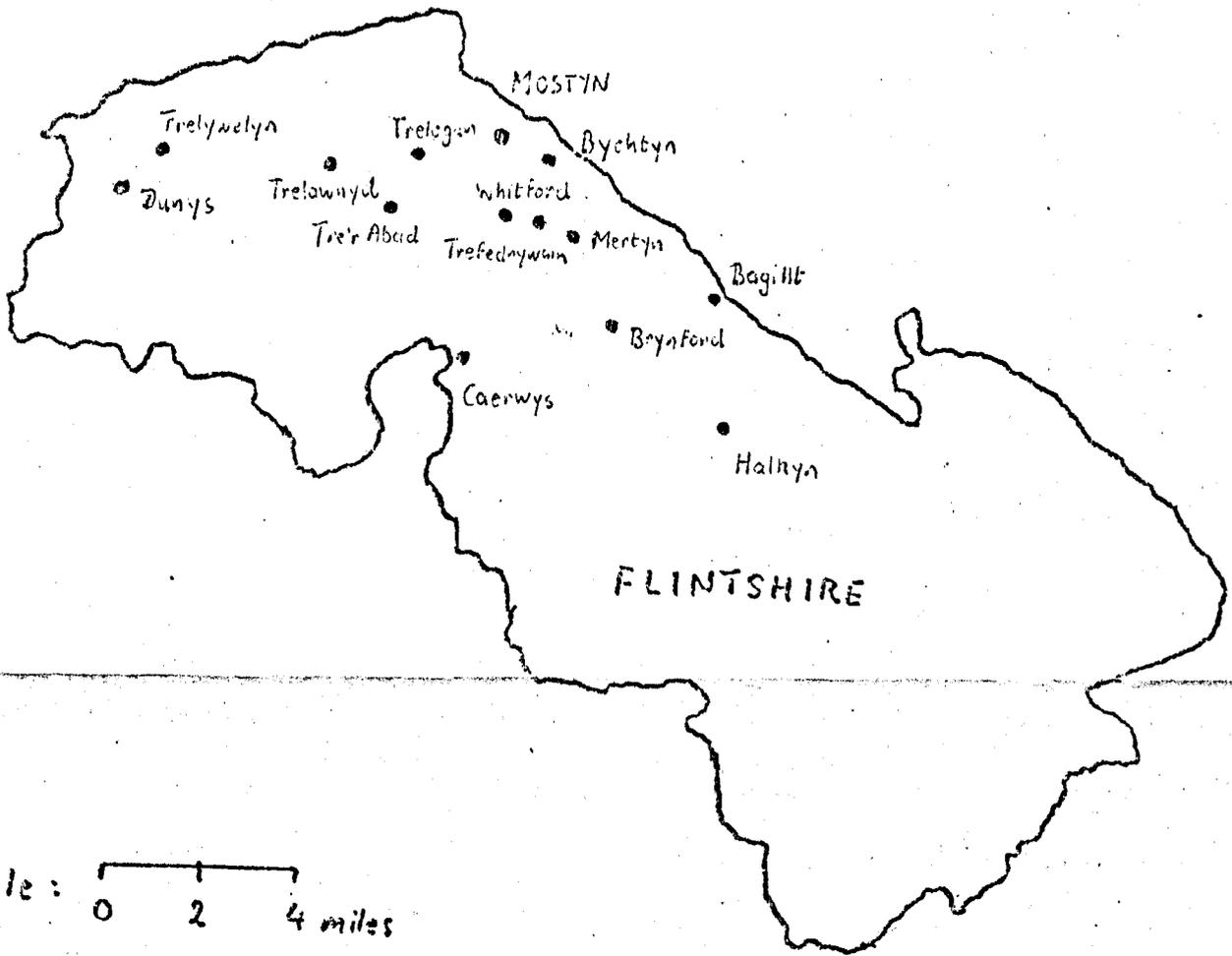
- Marriage of heir
- " " younger son
- " " daughter

○ Delycorstwyn

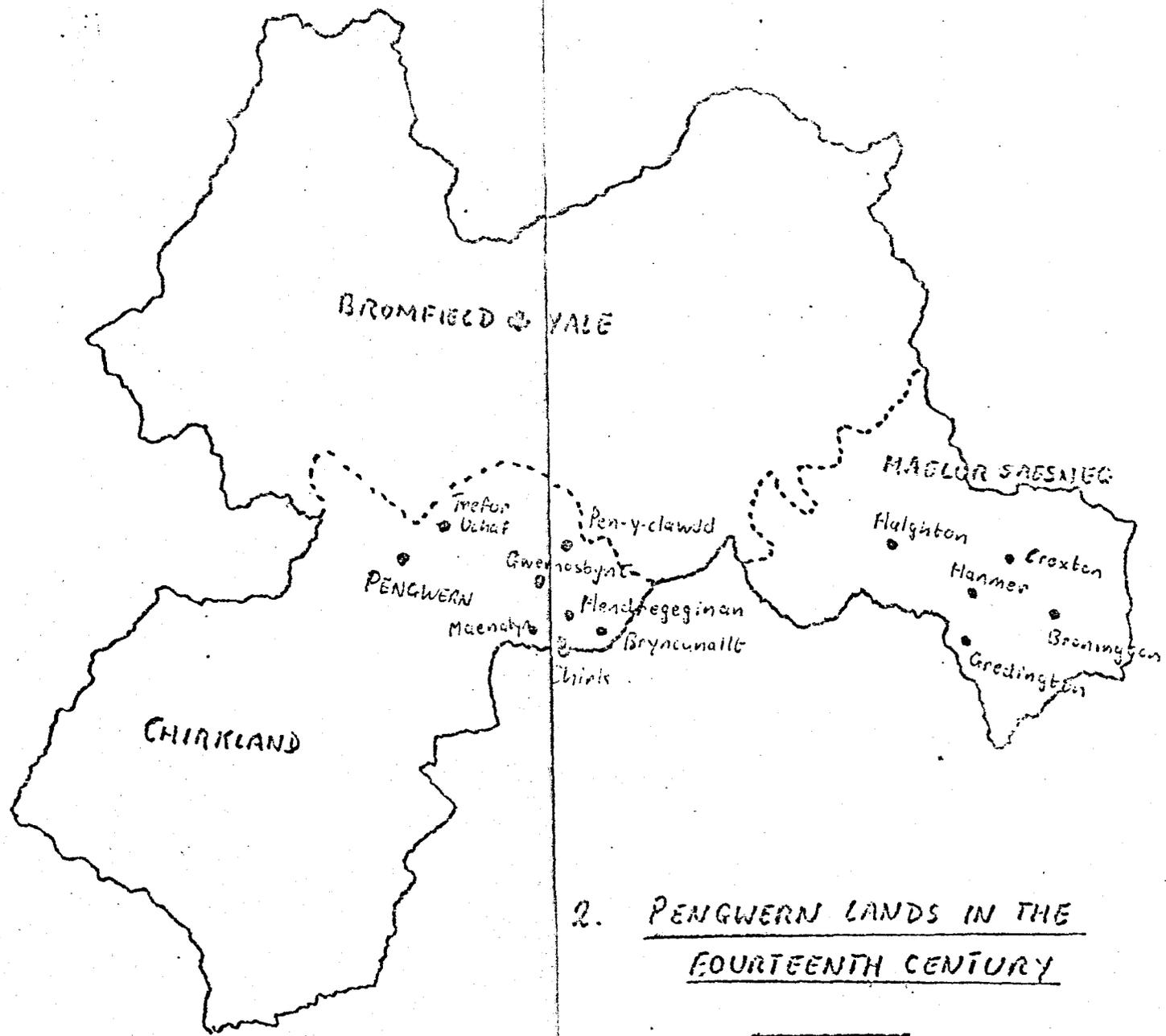




4. GLODDAITH AND TREGARNEDD
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

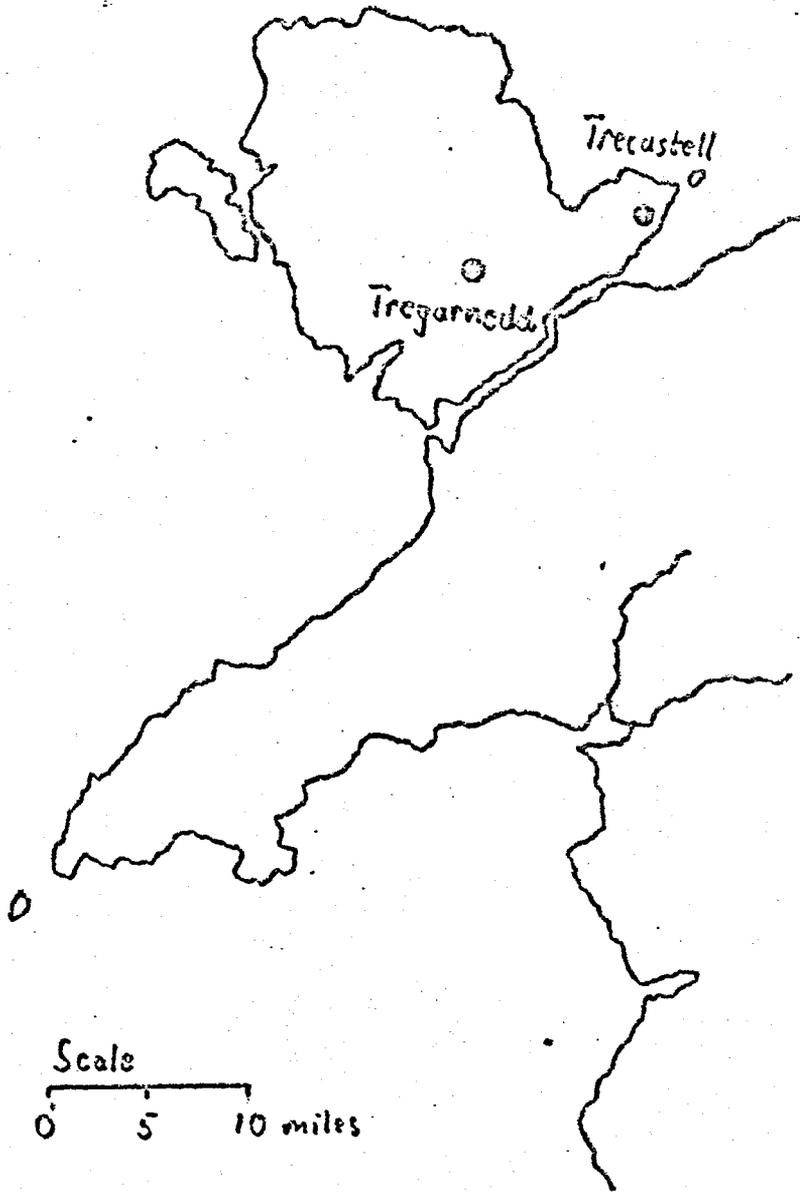


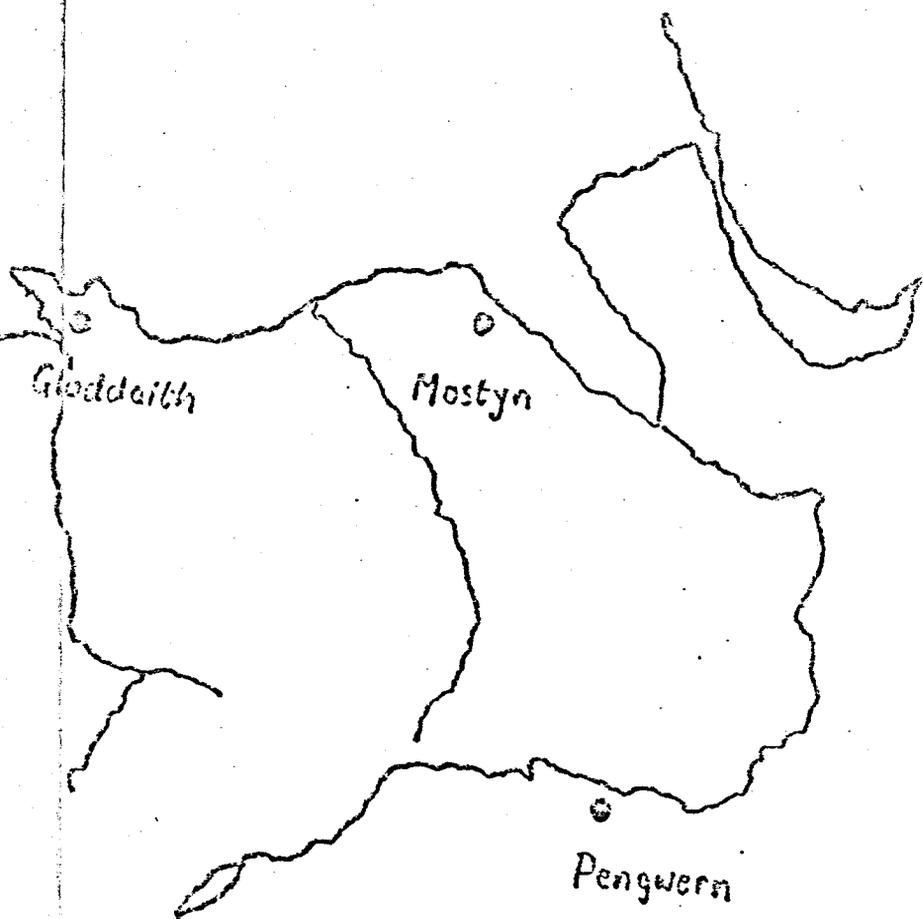
3. LANDS ACQUIRED BY TUDUR
AP ITHEL FYCHAN



2. PENGWERN LANDS IN THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Scale : 0 2 4 miles





1. THE FIVE COURTS